The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1901.

The Week.

The leading Imperialist or Expansionist newspapers of this city have been for more than a week withholding from their readers highly important news. We refer to the diplomatic dispatches leading up to our war with Spain. Announcement of their publication was made nearly three weeks ago, and their full text was obtainable in this city a fortnight since. But while these newspapers have printed learned articles on the origin of the Boer war, and would, were there any new information about the Ems dispatch and the responsibility for the Franco-German war, eagerly reproduce it and discuss it, and would feel ashamed to omit newly discovered knowledge about any war in history, from the capture of Babylon down, these documents, throwing so much new light on the causes and outbreak of our own war of only three years ago, they suppress. They not only refuse to print them; they will not even refer to them. The importance of the dispatches cannot be denied. They are "news" in the highest sense of the word. Many of them have never before been printed, even in part. They are a perfect mine of information, much of it now first accessible, regarding the diplomatic exchanges between Spain and the United States, which had been so sedulously kept secret for three years. What are able editors thinking of who do not seize upon the earliest occasion to print such "mighty interesting reading"?

Our imperialistic press began the plan of unblushing suppression with the Treaty of Paris correspondence. In that it appeared that Mr. McKinley had warned his Commissioners that to annex the Philippines would be "an adventurous departure on untried paths"; and that ex-Secretary Day, the President's right-hand man, telegraphed from Paris a solemn protest against Philippine annexation. But did the Imperialist newspapers print any of this? Not they. We suppose it is true that nine-tenths of American newspaper readers do not know to this day that anything of the sort happened. This is a measure of the political service which a party organ can render by keeping mum. All its vociferous articles lumped in one are not worth as much to an Administration embarrassed by the facts, as is its dense and discreet silence about the facts. This policy is evidently to be followed, if possible, in connection with the Spanish-war dispatches. It is, indeed, a little hard to find that the war which you have been describing for three years as "inevitable," was really among the most avoidable of human occurrences; that the *casus belli* did not exist; that Spain had, in fact, granted our demands, as Chili did in 1892, and that war with the former was no more necessary than with the latter. But facts are facts. There has been great curiosity about these dispatches. They were asked for in Congress, but refused. They were too delicate a matter, contained too many state secrets, to be divulged. But when they are at last published, when the whole tale is finally told, the leaders of the American press calmly suppress them!

The action taken at Manila on the Fourth of July looking towards the substitution of civil for military rule in the Philippines is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction. The difficulties in the way of a harmonious policy are evidently great when the new Civil Governor admits that the insurrection still exists in five of the twenty-seven provinces organized, and requires the continuance of military rule in them, to say nothing of the fact that, from the very nature of the case, the authority of the Military Governor must be supreme in case of an exigency anywhere else. Nevertheless, our people are so prejudiced against military rule on general principles that they will rejoice at its amelioration in the Philippines.

Gen. MacArthur has not hitherto made his mark either as orator or writer, but he certainly earned the thanks of posterity in his Fourth of July speech on handing over the command of the Philippine Islands to Gen. Chaffee. "I bequeath to you all my troubles" were the only and the cogent words which the historical student of the future will find to commemorate this interesting event. We have no hesitation in saying that they will prove far more suggestive fifty years from now than Gov. Taft's address, in spite of his recommendation that the Philippine adults should educate themselves "by observing American methods." Notwithstanding the pessimistic cast of his words, Gen. MacArthur may on the whole feel well satisfied with the results of his three years' stay in the Philippines. He went out a lieutenant-colonel of regulars and a brigadier-general of volunteers. He returns a major-general of regulars, after having commanded the most important army since the civil war, except one, and the largest number of troops given to any one officer since 1866. As a commander of troops in the face of the enemy, he has earned high praise for his strategy and ability, as well as for the high character of his staff. As Governor-General, he displayed a far more straightforward and independent spirit than did his predecessor, Gen. Otis. It is a pity that so good a man should have had to be the instrument of so bad a cause.

The controversy between Gen. Sickles and Pension Commissioner Evans has led to some objurgation against Mr. Cleveland's pension vetoes. But, really, nobody who favors the policy of "going blind" in the matter of pensions (and this is what all the assailants of Commissioner Evans want) ought to invite an examination of Mr. Cleveland's veto messages. Of those vetoed bills, 271 in number, Congress passed only one over the veto, and that was for a pension to a man who had never enlisted in the army at all, although he had participated in one fight "on his own hook." Taking down the list of Mr. Cleveland's private-pension vetoes and opening at random, we note one, dated February 23, 1895, as a specimen. It is a bill "granting a pension to Hiram R. Rhea, and repealing an act approved March 3, 1871." The act here repealed was one granting a pension to this same Hiram R. Rhea, under which the said Rhea had been drawing a pension for nearly twenty-two years. At the end of that time it was ascertained that Rhea had been a disreputable member of a band of armed rebels, and was wounded by Union soldiers in action. These facts were reported by the Commissioner of Pensions to Congress, which body, with tardy zeal, passed a bill to repeal the pension which it had previously granted, but in the very same bill incorporated a section directing the Secretary of the Interior to put this same man, Rhea, on the pension list. This bill ran the gauntlet of the two Committees on Pensions, and of both branches of Congress, and was stopped by the President's veto. *Ab uno disce omnes—i. e.*, President Cleveland's vetoes of private-pension bills. Not all the bills vetoed were quite as absurd as this one, but their generally reckless and irresponsible character may be truthfully inferred from this one.

Both of the leading army and navy newspapers, the *Register* and the *Journal*, represent the views of a good many veterans of the civil war, and both have come out squarely against Gen. Sickles's views of the Pension Office and of its chief, Commissioner Evans. The *Journal*, itself edited by a veteran of the civil war, who has performed more than one public service in this city, characterizes Gen. Sickles's attitude as "an insult to the Grand Army of the Republic." It bitterly resents his informing the President that the price of continued loyalty of Republican veterans "is

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the removal of the Commissioner, who carries in his pocket Gen. Sickles's certificate to his high character and his fitness for the office he fills." It further declares that

"The true old-soldier sentiment of this country favors an administration of our pension laws so honest and exact that it will make it as difficult as possible to secure pensions for bummers and dead-beats, the bounty jumpers and the coffee-coolers of the civil war. They believe that our pension laws have been, if anything, too liberal, and they have some measure of sympathy for the taxpayers who are patiently bearing their burden of a pension list approaching one hundred and fifty millions of dollars a year."

The *Register* believes that to the casual observer our pension laws must seem remarkably liberal, and that Mr. Evans's administration is not marked by any wrongs such as would excuse Gen. Sickles's outburst against the liberty of the press and his threats of mob violence against newspapers like the *Evening Post* and the New York *Times*, which decline to sit by and see the Treasury robbed without a protest. Gen. Sickles will find it hard to answer these editors, who know how the soldier of 1901 feels, as well as the views of the soldiers of 1861.

Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture could not plead Fourth of July enthusiasm as an excuse for the interview which he gave to the special correspondent of the *Tribune* on Tuesday week. He declared that within a year the United States and its new possessions would be producing practically everything we use, and he added:

"There is no doubt that this country within a few months will be in a position to ignore every other nation on the globe in the matter of food products. We shall produce within our own domain everything that goes upon our table and upon our backs. We shall then be, commercially and industrially, almost independent of the other nations of the world. Hence any trade combination which may be effected against us will count for nothing. Whenever we get ready we can come pretty near starving any other nation. Therefore an effective combination against us will be an impossibility."

Here is the "home market" idea carried to the bitter end. The interesting question for our farmers and others who wish to export is, How are we going to carry on a foreign trade in our own products if we will take nothing from other nations? Only a few weeks ago President McKinley himself, the greatest living Protectionist, began to talk about plans for getting our products into the markets of the world. Why, then, does a mere Secretary of Agriculture fly in the face of Destiny and Duty?

Congressman Dalzell is a very Sir Oracle of protection, and his remarks on the "serious question" which will confront Congress when it comes to take up reciprocity and tariff concessions to the Cubans, show that the vein of protectionist humor is by no means exhausted. His heart beats warmly for reciprocity, but only when it does not conflict with "the principle" of the protective tariff. Ask what that principle is, and you learn that it is the "folly" of reducing our tariff in order to get other countries to reduce theirs. This seems to make of reciprocity purely a pious opinion, something reserved for use in political platforms only. Dalzell, however, is heartily in favor of it, provided you do not insist upon his defining it. That he will sternly refuse to do. Any specific measure he is prepared to oppose. Even the promised favors to Cuban products he foresees there will be great difficulty in inducing Congress to grant. There are "our own interests" always to be considered, and many of the most powerful are against doing anything for the Cubans. Still, if the matter be only treated "broadly," all will be well, thinks the Pennsylvania Congressman. But the breadth of his own views is obviously nothing but the old narrowness of protectionist greed and selfishness.

A morning paper has an interview with Senator Hoar on the two subjects of protection and bimetallism. According to this interview, Mr. Hoar gained his opinions on both these questions from Alexander Hamilton. We pointed out recently that it was Hamilton's idea that protection might be desirable for a very few years, merely for the purpose of getting certain industries started. His report on manufactures was written in 1790. We doubt whether Mr. Hoar has read it lately. If he has, he must have wondered why it is necessary to maintain duties of 50 per cent. on articles that Hamilton proposed to admit at 7 to 10 per cent. one hundred and eleven years ago. Mr. Hoar's views on reciprocity are as incongruous and as much out of date as those on Hamilton's scheme of protection. He says that "we shall accomplish in some way a reasonable reciprocity by admitting from other countries what they can produce and we cannot produce, and sending to other countries what we produce and they cannot." This points to a coming disagreement between the Senator and President McKinley which must be extremely painful to the former. The latter's ideas of reciprocity have been formulated in a concrete way in certain treaties negotiated by the Department of State and duly communicated to the Senate, and especially in a treaty with France, which was not acted upon by the Senate at its last session. There were two items in this treaty which were obnoxious to certain persons in Massachusetts—one relating to imitation jewelry and the other relating to knit goods. The Home Market Club denounced these clauses of the treaty and the whole treaty vigorously, and the Senators from Massachusetts of course took their cue from their constituents.

The particular kind of reciprocity that Mr. Hoar favors would admit free of duty coffee from Brazil, Venezuela, and Java, asbestos from Canada, cinchona bark from India, bristles from Russia, coral (unmanufactured) from Italy, furs from Canada, spices from the East Indies, manila grass from the Philippines, India rubber, indigo, ivory, and lemons from various countries, tin ore and block tin from the Straits, tea from eastern Asia, sulphur from Sicily, etc. Unfortunately, all these articles are in the free list of the Dingley tariff. It would be difficult to say what articles not already free of duty could be admitted under Mr. Hoar's scheme of reciprocity. That Dingley himself contemplated a different kind of reciprocity from that proposed by Mr. Hoar is apparent from the fourth section of his bill, which provides for a reduction not exceeding 20 per cent. of the rates now levied on dutiable articles imported from countries which shall make similar or satisfactory reductions on articles exported from the United States. The fact is, that reciprocity on Mr. Hoar's plan is impossible. There is no material out of which such treaties can be made. The plan is put forward as a device for defeating reciprocity altogether. It is a form of words designed to bring about the rejection of all the treaties now pending, and especially the treaty with France.

The dividends declared last week on the shares of the United States Steel Corporation, popularly known as the Steel Trust, attract attention for several reasons. They undoubtedly testify, in the first place, to the immense prosperity of the American steel trade. When the constituent companies of the Steel Corporation were organized—mostly in 1898 and 1899—their capital was as a rule divided equally into preferred and common stock. It was well understood in the trade, and frankly avowed, that the preferred shares of these companies fairly represented the intrinsic value of the properties at the time of combination, while the common shares were virtually distributed as a "bonus" to owners of purchased mills, to promoters, to banking syndicates which floated the stock, and so forth. Last March, the "billion-dollar combination" was organized, and, in exchange for the common stock of most of these companies, it offered more than an equal amount in its own common shares. Thus, for every $100 in National Steel and National Tube common stock, the United States Corporation exchanged $125 in common shares of its own. Something like twenty-five million

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dollars was added to the joint capital of the enterprises by this process alone, quite aside from the still more considerable increase through "bonus" in new preferred shares. Yet, in the very first quarter of the huge Steel Trust's existence, its directors declare the maximum dividend prescribed for the new preferred stock, and add a quarterly 1 per cent. on the new common.

In view of the novelty of the whole experiment, and of the immense investment funds involved, comment on all such fiscal moves is perfectly in order. But this particular action is not easy to criticise, one way or the other, for the reason that only the most inadequate statements of earnings are made public. Four months ago, the bankers who floated the combination issued a public statement that last year's earnings, by the properties now consolidated in the Trust, were sufficient to pay dividends on both classes of new stock, and still have plenty over for repairs, renewals, and insurance against depreciation. As to how much has been left this quarter for such purposes, nothing is said. Whether it would be sufficient, in the light of trade experience, no one outside the council of directors has any means of knowing. If the bankers' statement regarding the 1900 surplus is taken without question, enough must certainly have been earned in the past three months to pay dividends on all the Trust's securities. The iron trade has been immensely prosperous, and its profits have by all reports exceeded last year's. But who is to judge whether or not enough is really being appropriated for the depreciation items? The bankers say the allowance is ample, and their authority is very high. But opinions on such estimates differ, even in the inmost circles of trade. What the Carnegie Works deemed a proper appropriation for improvement of the property, either the Illinois or the Maryland Steel Works would have regarded as monstrous extravagance. A common estimate of the "depreciation charge" has been 3 per cent. on capital, but the *Evening Post's* Pittsburgh correspondent on Saturday showed how the ultra-conservative steelmaker may justify 15 per cent. withdrawn for the same purpose. We hope to hear more on this point, for the whole question of the future of industrial investments is wrapped up in it.

Mr. Charles G. Dawes, Comptroller of the Currency for the past four years, some time ago began working to secure the United States Senatorship which will be disposed of by the Illinois Legislature a year from next winter. It has been charged, and is commonly believed, that he has used the appointments under him to promote his own political advancement. We freely admit, for our own part, that Mr. Dawes's management of the bank examiners in this section, and particularly his plan of shifting examiners at intervals from city to city, instead of leaving them permanently in the same location, has decidedly improved the service. Nevertheless, continuance in the Comptrollership under his present political circumstances threatened a serious political scandal. Mr. Dawes himself has come to realize this, and has resigned his position. This is only what any man holding one Federal office ought to do when he goes to work to get another, but it is a rare enough occurrence to excite remark.

Mr. Chamberlain was well within the facts when he said to the Canadians in London the other day that the possibility of the annexation of Canada to the United States is much slighter now than thirty years ago. The sentiment is different, not only on both sides of the boundary, but also in Great Britain. Disraeli, whom the English Imperialists now think of as a kind of patron saint, especially on Primrose Day, long held very low views of the colonies, which he once spoke of as so many millstones hung to the neck of England, and which she ought to get rid of if she could. He was probably right, yet the South African war was the occasion, more than the cause, of a remarkable display, before the eyes of the world, of the loyalty of the colonies to the Crown, and of the significance of the term, the British Empire. It is another matter, however, to account for the slackening and almost entire disappearance of the annexation movement in both Canada and the United States. Trade hostilities and tariff reprisals have undoubtedly had something to do with it. Some of our Washington wiseacres have thought that, if we only taxed Canadian products smartly enough, we should see Canada on her knees begging to be annexed. The result has proved to be quite the contrary. Canadian statesmen have sought closer economic relations with England, at the same time that they have set about developing their own vast domain in the Northwest. On our side of the line, it is undeniable that the annexations into which we blundered as a result of the Spanish war have diverted the thoughts of our always small group of Canadian annexationists. And across the border, if we may believe Mr. Goldwin Smith, the spectacle of the United States going in for tropical islands and subject races has greatly cooled the ardor of those Canadians who, like him, had advocated union with their neighbor on the south.

When Mr. Brodrick announced in the House of Commons on Thursday that all negotiations with the Boers were at an end, and that the burghers had determined to continue the fight for absolute independence, he found it necessary to add that the Government's resolution to see the war through was unshaken. The statement shows in itself how nervous the Treasury Bench has become over the military situation and the steady attacks of the Opposition, divided as the latter now is. The Liberal leaders have no lack of material for their onslaughts. The failure of all the military plans for a prompt subjugation of the two republics, the concentration camp horrors, and the continued inability of the Government to find terms acceptable to the Boers—these furnish the Liberals with so much ammunition that the absence of strong and united leaders alone prevents their becoming extremely dangerous to the Salisbury Government. A hundred years ago Burke and Fox demonstrated that two men can create an Opposition, and speak the truth in a way to compel the respectful attention of the Government and the country, even when siding with "rebels and traitors" of the same blood and ancestry. Like the American Imperialist, the English Jingo finds it necessary to call names and charge lack of patriotism when things do not come his way. Who would know that Thursday's debate in London was not at Washington if Filipino were substituted for Boer, Lodge for Brodrick, and Beveridge for Balfour?

At Chamberlain's door, and at his alone, must be laid the responsibility of the repeated failure to find terms acceptable and honorable to both parties. Lord Kitchener found them, although he is considered a mere machine, without the bowels of mercy—just as soldiers who have learned to respect a brave and honorable enemy have so often discovered the middle way which led to a grounding of arms. But Chamberlain at home would have none of it—no one knows why, unless it be the Cabinet; and so the weary round of guerrilla warfare, of death by disease and bullet and concentration, is to go on indefinitely, even though the British public is plainly sickening of the casualties which are the feature of every issue of an English daily. Face to face with a steadily dwindling army in South Africa, with renewed demands for mounted troops, with a trying reorganization of War Office and army under way, with increasing difficulty in getting recruits now that the popular enthusiasm for the war is subsiding, as well as with steadily increasing hostilities on the Continent, the position of the Salisbury Government can hardly be said to be enviable. Were the truth but known, the Ministers themselves would probably be found to be as much in the dark as to what is to be expected in South Africa as any puzzled newspaper reader of the scant official dispatches on this or the other side of the Atlantic.

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"OUR NEW POSSESSIONS" AND THE FUTURE.

The various Anti-Imperialist Leagues in different parts of the country improved the national anniversary by the issue of an address to the American people. It was a happy thought to enforce sound ideas as to the administration of our Government on the occasion which revives memories of the struggle for its establishment. The address sets forth the situation regarding both Cuba and "our new possessions," as affected by the course of our Government and the recent decision of the Supreme Court, and lays stress upon the dangers of the arbitrary rule which is now exercised by the President in Cuba, and which may be indefinitely continued in the Philippines under the ruling of our highest judicial tribunal. It closes with an appeal for organized effort to arouse and educate public sentiment, to the end that the next Congress may be induced to do its duty, and refrain from endorsing "the policy of incorporating the island peoples into our system without rights."

This is a platform upon which all may stand who wish to see the republic maintain its traditions and discharge its duties, whatever their attitude towards the Expansion policy has been in the past. There has never been a time when patriotic Americans have been more puzzled as to the political course which they ought to pursue than during the past three years. A national campaign should be a test of public sentiment on the great question of Federal policy which is uppermost at the time, but the utter demoralization of the Opposition in 1900, and its continued surrender to a leadership which was profoundly distrusted by independent voters, rendered such a division impossible. Many earnest and influential Anti-Imperialists reluctantly supported the reëlection of President McKinley, on the two-fold ground that no dependence could be placed upon a man with Bryan's shifty record on the Expansion issue, leading a party the dominant wing of which in the South rejected "the consent of the governed" theory; and that there were such signs of dissent in the Republican party from the permanent support of an Imperialistic policy as justified the hope that a wise solution might yet be reached if it should be continued in power.

The address condemns the decision recently rendered by the Supreme Court, and endorses the dissenting views expressed by Justice Harlan, especially his declaration that "the idea that this country may acquire territories anywhere upon the earth, by conquest or treaty, and hold them as mere colonies or provinces, and the people inhabiting them to enjoy only such rights as Congress chooses to accord them, is wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius, as well as with the words, of the Constitution." But the decision having been rendered and Congress having been vested with the possession of such powers, the thing now to do is to labor for the development of a public sentiment that will, at the earliest possible day, secure the adoption of a policy under which there will be no occasion or excuse for the employment of arbitrary authority over remote islands by the Government at Washington.

There is one fortunate feature of the Supreme Court's decision. It explicitly renders possible the grant of independence to the Philippines—or, for that matter, to the Porto Ricans. It was held by many able Constitutional lawyers that, if the contrary principle had been asserted, and these islands had been pronounced as much parts of the United States as New York or Texas, there would have been no more possibility of ever getting them out of our possession than there is in the case of New York or Texas. However that may be, it is conceded by all that, as the Constitution is interpreted by a majority of the Supreme Court, the United States may dispose of its new islands in any way that it chooses, and so, of course, may grant them full independence.

This is the goal to be aimed at. There is no reason why it should not ultimately be reached. Such a result would evidently be welcome to a large and growing element in the Republican party. There have been all along Republican Senators and Representatives who opposed the policy of Imperialism, and who stood out against its application in the case of the Porto Rican tariff last year. There are others, of high standing and great influence in the party, who have supported the Administration, but who have not thereby accepted a colonial policy as permanently necessary or tolerable. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, who has expressly mentioned the "independence" of the Philippines as a possible and desirable issue, is the most conspicuous representative of this class. Leading independent journals which have supported the action of the Government, now advocate such a solution of the problem, the Indianapolis *News* being the most prominent of this class. There are many Republican editors whose attitude clearly shows that they will be glad to support a movement looking in this direction.

Altogether the prospect is not discouraging for those who would see the nation escape honorably from its present complications. Nobody can find anywhere the slightest evidence that our people have become enamored of the idea of owning "possessions" in remote parts of the earth. On the contrary, there are abundant signs that they will welcome the adoption of a policy by which we may help the establishment of independent republics, as we have always welcomed the development of such republics in the past. The aim now should be to make Congress responsive to such sentiments.

THE RACE CENSUS AT THE SOUTH.

During the last ten years the negro population of the Black Belt of Alabama has increased much more rapidly than the white. There are twelve contiguous counties in that State in each of which the whites constitute less than one-third of the inhabitants. Their combined area is 9,367 square miles, or something more than that of Massachusetts and Rhode Island taken together. In 1890 these counties had an aggregate white population of 79,291. They have now 87,202. In the same period the negroes increased from 299,681 to 350,938. As against an absolute white increase of 7,911 is to be set a negro gain of 51,257. Relatively, the difference between the respective rates of growth of the two races has not been so great, but it has for all that been quite marked. There are now less than 10 per cent. more white people in the region under consideration than there were in 1890, while there are upwards of 17 per cent. more negroes. For at least twenty years the negroes have been gaining on the whites. In 1880, out of every 1,000 inhabitants of these counties, 218 were white, now only 199. Two decades ago the negroes outnumbered the whites by 210,907—to-day by 263,736.

Bordering on these overwhelmingly black counties are nine others in each of which there is a negro majority, but in each of which the whites constitute more than one-third of the entire population. In these nine counties, considered as a whole, the negroes have, during the last ten years, increased more rapidly than the whites. In 1890 they had 116,575 negro and 89,790 white inhabitants. They have now a black population of 136,415 and a white of 100,787. There has been, therefore, in the decade an increase of 19,840 blacks and of 10,997 whites. The respective rates of increase were 17.02 and 12.26 per cent. Twenty years ago, out of every 1,000 of their residents, 442 were white; now only 425 are.

In 1891 attention was called in these columns to the possibility that the conditions under which the census of 1890 was taken might have resulted in an imperfect count in the black belts of the South. The figures for 1900 now made public by the Census Office seem to show that, in the negro counties of Alabama at least, there was in 1890 an under-enumeration of the inhabitants. Between 1880 and 1890 the apparent increase in the population of these counties was at the rate of less than 2 per cent., as against more than 15 per cent. for the decade from 1890 to 1900. Fail-

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ure to enumerate in 1890 all the negroes of Alabama is probably the reason why the rate of negro increase for the last ten years appears to be greater than the white. Between 1880 and 1890 the census purports to show that the white population increased at the rate of 25.90 per cent., and between 1890 and 1900 at the rate of 20.08 per cent. During the earlier decade the percentage of negro increase is said to have been 13.05, and during the later 21.94. Had the relative rates of growth for the two races indicated by the census of 1890 been genuine, and had they continued for a few decades, the race problem would in Alabama have ceased to be serious. As it is, a comparison of the figures of the census for 1860 with those of 1900 shows that forty years of revolutionary changes have had no appreciable effect in disturbing the relative numbers of the two races.

Since 1860 the State has gone through a terrible war. Slavery in it has been abolished. Its negroes were enfranchised, and subsequently have been, in fact if not in law, again disfranchised. In a community which before the war was purely agricultural, manufacturing and mining industries have sprung up and have flourished. Yet in 1860, out of every 10,000 inhabitants of Alabama, 4,540 were negroes, and in 1900 4,524 were still of the weaker race. The Constitutional Convention of the State now in session will have need of the wisdom of its wisest. The revelations of the census emphasize the importance of the work which Mr. Booker T. Washington and his associates are doing. Tuskegee is in the midst of this Alabama Black Belt, in which, as we have seen, there are more than four negroes to every white. Of the Caucasians one-fifth (a disproportionately large part) dwell in the cities and towns of which they constitute nearly half the inhabitants. In the purely rural regions the negro's numerical preponderance is already overwhelming and is steadily increasing. The territory included in these counties is among the most fertile of the South. It is capable of supporting a large population. That population for an indefinite time to come will be negro. Will it also be prosperous, civilized, and moral? Tuskegee is striving to have the question answered in the affirmative.

The only other Southern State for which the race figures have been made public, is Arkansas. In that State during the last decade the negroes have increased more rapidly than the whites, as they have done in every census period but one for the last eighty years. Out of every 10,000 inhabitants, 2,797 were in 1900 negroes. They are, however, in a majority in six counties only. In five of these their preponderance is very great, and seems to be increasing. In no one of the five do the whites constitute one-fourth of the population, and in one they barely number one-eighth of the whole.

THE ROGERS BEQUEST TO THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

The acquisition of the great endowment fund bequeathed by the late Jacob S. Rogers—presuming that the attempt to break the will fails, as the best judges expect—should mark the turning-point in the fortunes and policy of the Metropolitan Museum. Heretofore the Museum has had no adequate funds for the acquisition of objects of art, no sufficient staff to arrange and catalogue properly such exhibits as it had, no established policy of enlargement. In short, those acquainted with the management of the great European museums would have made the comment frequently applied to the British line officers—"amateurs all." That, in spite of disadvantages which would have probably prevented the growth of a European museum, the Metropolitan Museum has grown marvellously, is most creditable to all concerned in its conduct, and there is a certain pride in noting that volunteer effort will at need so nearly replace professional skill and an established policy.

But with the acquisition of an additional income of some $200,000 the era of amateurism in the Metropolitan Museum must pass. The things that were inevitable when the good will of the Trustees and the generosity of private individuals had to repair deficiencies in staff and endowment, would no longer be tolerable. That Gen. di Cesnola fully realizes the situation is shown in interviews recently given by him to the press. Most people will learn with something like amazement that for the entire collections there were only three curators, and all will feel with the Director that the staff should be enlarged. In the character of these new curators lies the immediate future of the Museum, and the Trustees will fall far short of the general expectation if they appoint any short of the best. It should be frankly admitted that there is to-day in immediate charge of the Museum collections no specialist of the first class. The Director's position requires a general knowledge of the whole field of art rather than that minute knowledge of any special branch which Gen. di Cesnola would be the first to disclaim. Neither of his colleagues, faithful and accomplished administrators that they are, has the standing among archæologists that Mr. Edward Robinson, for example, and Mr. Morse of the Boston Art Museum enjoy. At the time when they were appointed, the Metropolitan Museum was almost a private collection, and art connoisseurship was in its infancy in this country. It may be assumed that these gentlemen, whose long devotion and tact have made their services quite indispensable, will welcome as assistants and colleagues the archæologists and connoisseurs of more recent training whom the Trustees will now be able to appoint. So much may be gathered from Gen. di Cesnola's published interviews.

Numerous reforms, some of them already indicated by the Director, will follow this rejuvenation of the Museum staff. A matter which, perhaps, affects the general public little, but which touches the pride of the art lover, is the unsatisfactory character of the Museum catalogues. It is a weakness from which no museum is wholly free, to take an indulgent view of its own collections, but among connoisseurs it hurts a museum to carry some half-dozen Raphael drawings on its catalogue when it has only one, to parade five pictures by Velasquez when it has at best only two which are authentic, to hold before the public that priceless thing a Lionardo when it has in fact only a pretty ideal head by a well-known imitator of the master. Such slips, which are drawn almost at random from the Museum catalogue, will be remedied when the collections are for the first time thoroughly sifted and inventoried by specialists.

Far more important than the remedying of minor defects and deficiencies in the present organization is the ability to increase the collection systematically under the direction of the Museum authorities. Such a fund and such a consistent administration of it are the conditions of normal growth. We should be the last to deprecate gifts of works of art to the Museum, but it is seldom that gifts are such an unqualified blessing as was that of the Marquand collection of old masters. No museum can always have such good fortune as to find a benefactor and a connoisseur in the same person. It is doubtful, for example, if any but a poorly stored gallery would have been justified in accepting the Wolfe pictures *en bloc* without the accompanying *solatium* of a two-hundred-thousand-dollar bequest.

When the Rogers gift is finally transferred to the Museum, the curators will have the annual spending of some hundreds of thousands of dollars—more, we believe, than any foreign museum has regularly at its disposal for acquisitions. The apportionment of this income to the different departments is a matter which should be easily adjusted, and we would only suggest that generous appropriations be made for classical antiquities of the best periods, and for early painting, particularly of the Italian school. For modern art the Museum, while taking pains to fill gaps, may still safely trust to the generosity of its patrons. The spending of this large income in the separate departments is, on the contrary, a matter requiring the highest professional skill.

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The curator must be an infallible judge of the objects he purchases. He should also have an exhaustive knowledge of the contents of private collections; in short, he should know the location, so far as possible, of every object of art in his especial field, and the chances of its successful capture. He must have the expert technical knowledge of the matter in hand which a great dealer has, and know absolutely commercial values, while remaining sensitive to permanent artistic quality. If the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum will find two or three such curators and trust them, the Museum will, even in our time, take rank with the great collections of Europe. This great benefaction carries with it a great responsibility, which we are sure the Museum will meet in the spirit of enlightened liberality that has characterized all its history.

THE HOTEL PROBLEM.

Our country might be defined as the land of great hotels, for it is doubtful if anywhere else there has been such lavish expenditure of money and such almost heroic endeavor to minister to the comfort, luxury, or even whim, of the passing guest. This movement towards luxury has been attended with a corresponding increase in comfort. In most of the greater inns one may have all the quiet that is consistent with residence in a caravansary, and find a table served as well as that of a good restaurant or a well-ordered home. Only a few years ago the single "order" on a huge tray, and the multitudinous "vegetable dishes," still made a hotel dinner a matter of long and unhappy remembrance. To-day all that is changed, and if we only pay enough for it, we may all have our ease in our inn.

But the ideal inn is, after all, the small one. Not because it is inexpensive, though this is a quality not to be despised, but because it admits of certain perfections of attendance and cuisine from which the great hotel, through very multiplication of machinery, is precluded. No one who remembers some of the modest inns of Italy or Switzerland, where the fare is of the simplest, but exquisitely prepared and served, and a handful of servants seek to learn and humor the personal idiosyncrasies of Monsieur or Madame, can fail to regret the rarity of such inns in this country. For there are many who are never, at heart, quite reconciled to the large hotel, with its inevitable noise and confusion. There are many, too, whose affection for the small inn is more than sentimental and platonic. With them it is a question of getting reasonable accommodations without being at large expense. And indeed there is something amiss in a system under which people of gentle habits and requirements must pay in the cities upwards of four dollars a day for suitable accommodation, and in the smaller towns and in the country half as much. There is a kind of absurdity in the fact that a European trip should be far less costly, and, for equal expenditure, far more comfortable than a trip in our own country.

Here and there one finds excellent inns of the second class, to use the Baedeker phrase; but generally, when one leaves the cities and great resorts, there are only second-class hotels, which vary in badness from the halting imitation of a great hotel to the overgrown boarding-house, in which the maid seats you "where the reaching's good, sir." Why a nation of travellers, not deficient in any other form of enterprise, should make so poor a fist at inn-keeping, is not at first blush easy to see. It seems to come, at least in part, from the fallacy of bigness, expressing itself in the present instance in the attempt to make the small inn as much as possible like the great hotel. The mistake of such an idea need hardly be dwelt upon. It is not in a gorgeous office, in spacious public rooms, nor in complicated system of call bells, formidable bills-of-fare, and superfluous servants that the real comfort of a good hotel resides. It is rather in quiet and respectful service, in fare perfect of its kind, however simple. There could be no worse model for the keeper of an inn than the great hotel, and yet, when he admits any authority save his own inner leading, this is the model he sets before himself. He seeks salvation in the Persian apparatus of upholsterer and cabinet-maker, neglecting the weightier matters of good food and good service. His true course would be to accept the limitations of his position, and take as his model the well-conducted boarding-house. From this point of view Canadian hotels are frequently superior to our own.

The chief obstacle to reform is the apparent inability of the average hotel-keeper to find out what his guest really wants, and a tendency to consider it unreasonable for the guest to want anything that the hotel has not usually supplied. Imagine the feeling of a clerk when a guest prefers the privacy and convenience of a portable tub in his room to passing through the corridors to a public bathroom: the guest is lucky if he is not judged to be in contempt of the hotel plumbing. Or again, a guest may desire to see his tea made, or to mix his own coffee and milk, only to find that these things are beyond the ken of his host.

To be sure, the guest is partly to blame. We Americans are an uncomplaining lot. We are too amiable to find fault, and too busy or indifferent to argue out our point with host or waiter. Hence we are badly served on all hands, and, if it were not for the general increase of wealth and the influx of foreign servants, we should still, so far as hotel life is concerned, be as Martin Chuzzlewit saw us. Fortunately there are influences at work which make for the innkeeper's education. The bicycle now reaches the remotest corners of the land, and the automobile is to be seen on rural roads, bringing to the smaller inns a class of customers who are reasonably insistent in expressing their wants. Already the effect of this movement is noticeable along the main travelled roads, and we may expect further improvement in this direction. Perhaps we shall not have small hotels of the European standard until there is in this country a more uniform standard of living, in which matter "Abroad" is really more democratic than we are. So long as we are not generally agreed as to the kind of food to be eaten and the way to eat it, so long as many guests really do not care whether the dinner coffee is first, last, or all along, the native American hotel-keeper will cherish his delusion that, if there is "plenty of everything," it matters little what there is plenty of. While hoping for the conversion of our present innkeepers, we wish that some enlightened capitalist would see the opportunity for starting a system of city hotels, at a two-dollar or a two-dollar-and-a-half rate, in which the ideal should be refined simplicity of entertainment. Such hotels would meet a real need, and their founder would hardly fail of his reward.

JOHN FISKE, POPULARIZER.

The work of the brilliant man whose life was cut short on Thursday, is doubtless best described as that of a purveyor of knowledge to the commonalty. John Fiske's mind was powerful, but not originating. He knew what true learning was, and where it was; and it was his delight and highest function to go into the workshops of the great laborers in philosophy and in history, and come out to tell the world what they were doing. He was essentially a lecturer.

"Child of an age that lectures, not creates,"

said Lowell of himself, ruefully. But lecturing may be made so much of a fine art that it may almost be said to be itself creative. It was so in Fiske's hands. For mastery of his subject without dulness, for lucidity and charm and fresh enthusiasm, we probably have never had his like—at least, in the abstruser philosophical and historical subjects which it was his joy to expound and illuminate.

His chosen and successful rôle was thus that of a popularizer of useful knowledge. His early writings in elucidation of Herbert Spencer, for example, probably had ten readers in this country where the original works of the evolutionary philosopher had one. The

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reason was that Fiske had the gift of exposition, and was able, by his style, as no man ever accused Spencer of being, to make philosophy as musical as is Apollo's lute. If Huxley was, as he boasted, the "bull-dog" of Darwin, Fiske was the mocking-bird of Spencer. And to him, above all lecturers and interpreters, may rightly be applied Coleridge's famous distinction between "popularize" and "plebificate." John Fiske was no smatterer. If it is true that other men labored and he entered into their labors, it was by no royal road. He went to the sources as well as they; he was able to check off their work, and so to escape the danger of their leading him around by the nose. His own industry was enormous, his reading of a tremendous sweep, his passion for investigation like a living fountain within him, and his curiosity ever unsated. So it was the real thing he gave out to the public—genuine scholarship, first-hand information, and not the mere echo of his authorities.

His fruitful labors in American history will be his best bid for remembrance. The fashion of philosophy changeth, and his writings on speculative evolution are already left behind. Yet it was the evolutionary principle applied to history which, with his unflagging inquiry and ransacking of the sources, made Fiske's books on our own history the fresh and effective contributions they are. He looked everywhere for historical continuity, for orderly development, for inheritance of political institutions as well as of blood, and for their natural variation under a changed environment. We presume that no other man did so much to correct the old popular notions about the philosophy of the American Revolution. To Fiske, as to the clearest-headed English writers, as to Lecky, Sir George Trevelyan, and John Morley, the Revolution of the American colonies was simply an episode in the historic English struggle for liberty. No doubt it was the conception of evolution, firmly fixed in Fiske's mind by the studies of his young manhood, which enabled him afterwards to throw such illumination upon the beginnings of our national life.

For such a work as he wrought, two conditions are necessary. First, you must have a kind of incurable boyishness in your great popularizer. He must take a simple delight in his own discoveries and acquisitions. He must be as naïf as a child in bringing forward his treasures for the public to inspect. With this must go an unfailing spring of activity, a hunger for work, and a kind of glad irresponsibility for everything except the peculiar labors he delights in. This was confessedly Fiske's temperament; and to supplement it there existed just what he needed, and without which his career would have been impossible—namely, his predestined audience. He had, in other words, a vast and growing reading and listening public, imperfectly instructed, but eager to learn. It was aware, in a vague way, that new thoughts were astir in the world, that science had made vast strides, and that history was being rewritten; but it had no man, till John Fiske came along, to act as a trusty intermediary between sound learning and popular misapprehension. It was, therefore, a beautiful instance of adaptation to environment which John Fiske presented. He knew the best that was thought and written; he had a preëminent faculty for setting forth what he knew; and more and more thousands of people looked up to him to be fed. Unquestionably he reached and influenced greater numbers than could have been touched by his personality if he had chosen to be a regularly attached professor in the University. His forte was, as we have said, lecturing. After hearing him you would not say, as Lowell said was your impression after hearing Emerson lecture, that "something beautiful had passed that way"; but you would say that such an expository gift, such lucidity combined with such learning, marked their possessor out as a prince of his art.

MAFIA: OBSERVATIONS BY A NON-MEMBER.—II.

The real trouble lies in the spirit of defiance carried into the tiny details of life. Not to speak of the turbulence of the students at Sicilian universities, more ripe for political contests than for the studies which they should be made to attend to, one finds this disposition to fly in the face of simple and reasonable rule at every turn. As a surface illustration, let any foreign visitor to a Palermo theatre but watch the effect of the sign *È vietato fumare* (No Smoking), conspicuously posted all over the lower part of the house. He, in his innocence, respects it; but what about his neighbors? As soon as the curtain drops for the interminable entr'acte, the air at once becomes blue with the fumes of a thousand bad cigarettes; and none so daring, or so foolish, as to object. The corresponding regulation in railway carriages is as little observed. A singular illustration of this constant fretting under constraint, followed by attempts to rush through it, was observable at a race meeting in the Favorita race-course, near Palermo, a year ago. For a local and comparatively unimportant affair, the preparations were in one respect on a surprising scale; to judge from the number of soldiers on guard, one might have supposed the whole populace to be on the verge of insurrection. In spite of such elaborate precautions, it was absolutely impossible for these guardians of the course to keep the crowd from constantly stepping over the ropes and upon the track. A whole regiment could hardly deal successfully with so unruly a mob. From exactly the same cause, landing at Palermo is made about as unpleasant as it can be to a stranger, even though he may have had a prior breaking-in at Naples. Still, at the latter place it has in the last few years become possible to get ashore in a tender; and under such conditions disembarking is no great discomfort. At the Sicilian seaport the organization of boatmen and *facchini* is so powerful that even the strong hand of a steamship monopoly is quite unable to protect its travellers against insolence, importunity, and extortion. To match the scene of wrangling and confusion that takes place every morning on the arrival of the pretty steamer from Naples, one has to go to Constantinople, or some other Eastern port, where English administration has not yet made itself felt. From the yelling horde in the landing-boats, small detachments of rough porters swarm up the companion-way, jostle passengers, and forcibly take possession of every article of baggage, unless the passenger himself stoutly resists. One cannot but pity foreign ladies arriving here alone. There is no one to appeal to; the ship's officers look on with indifference; and the only attempt at discipline comes from an overdressed buck, who disposes of the boats, receives the fares, and orders travellers about like so many prisoners. Palermo is one of the few places where the custom-house officer, because of his businesslike ways, comes in as a relief from the lawlessness and turbulence one has just passed through.

Wherever one meets with a similar organization in the island, it is precisely the same story. The strongest authority can be set at defiance where there is a silent universal determination not to accept it on some particular point, and when all concerned in the opposition are joined by an *entente cordiale* that requires neither meetings nor rules. "I know what is the freemasonry of the poor," says Barry Lyndon. So strong is this spirit that in the country districts owners of orange or lemon groves and vineyards are compelled to select the guardians of their property from among those designated by this hidden authority. Neglect of this precaution would immediately be followed by a cutting down of all the trees and vines in the night-time. Among the sulphur-miners a corresponding understanding exists which, without completely controlling the employer or managers, nevertheless checks the independence of their actions in matters of which ignorant petty leaders can have no adequate comprehension.

A similar unreasoning hostility to outside influences (called intrusion) sometimes spreads upwards to circles in which more enlightenment might be expected; and, as a consequence, much of the capital which might flow to the island from outside sources remains extremely shy. In one particular case, a young Genoese merchant was heard to say that for two years he had been in steady correspondence with Sicilian firms, during all which time it had been quite beyond his power to obtain a single useful hint or encouragement, although the transactions proposed promised fair returns to both sides concerned. As he put it, even after a personal visit of some weeks there was still so much latent *vis inertiæ* of positive unwillingness to deal with, that his principals had just telegraphed to close all negotiations and carry their offers to some country where modern business ideas have some chance to flourish. After hearing a few scores of stories in this vein, one can hardly dispel the impression of a gigantic Albergo della Conspirazione Permanente, as in Offenbach's comic opera—an impression which,

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it is almost needless to say, is entirely exaggerated. Were one to believe everything, the case would indeed be hopeless.

If a plausible explanation of this system of silently organized opposition can be found in the case of the poor peasants and the various guilds of the laboring classes, who adopt this primitive plan for expressing the sense of their wrongs and their desire to defend themselves, no such plea can reasonably be advanced for similar feelings and conduct in those who dwell in cities and thus have a relatively fair field for the exercise of their energies. Here the conditions are changed. Over the townsman there are no owners of *latifundia*, no agents. And yet it is in the cities that the Mafia has its most dangerous sway; here it finds its local heads, unknown except to the initiated. Like our own walking-delegates and labor leaders, these men thrive best in crowded centres, and, whether by superior address or by intimidation, contrive to keep over the ignorant the power which they secretly apply chiefly to their own ends. For in all such associations, if the poor dupes did but know it, there will always exist a few who live at the expense of the many; as the befooled socialist operatives of Albi discovered when their fund was gone—"Il y a toujours la bande."

One of the chief causes (in a foreigner's eyes the least defensible) tending to foster the spirit of unruliness consists in the ease with which permits are obtainable for carrying dangerous weapons. An ordinary stout garden clasp-knife is prohibited, except when one is at work with it. And the following item from the *Giornale di Sicilia* (June, 1900) proves clearly that some of our own fellow-citizens had best empty their pockets before strolling about Palermo: "Last night B. G., a seventeen-year-old cobbler, was arrested in the Piazza Casa Professa, for having a razor in his pocket." Nevertheless, for the trifling sum of twelve francs a year, almost any one may obtain the revolver-license. Here is a list of permits covering all ordinary weapons:

Revolver: yellow paper; obtained from the prefect of police.
Swordstick: green paper; obtained from the prefect of police.
Shotgun: white paper; obtained from the *questore*.

The immediate result of such regulations is that several times a week the newspapers contain brief accounts of *rivolverate* (shootings), with the accompanying casualties. Statistics of the annual numbers of shooting-affrays with more or less damage on both sides amount to a surprising average per diem for the whole island. The armorers' shops in Palermo, Messina, and Catania are not only numerous, but splendidly supplied with the very latest American makes; and in front of these windows one always finds a group eagerly discussing *en connaissance de cause*, or in outspoken approval of some new design. Naturally, unarmed persons are the exception rather than the rule. One hears curious tales of young aristocrats who carry their revolvers to balls, but have the grace to give them up at the door, where a valet is in charge to prevent unwished-for exchanges on coming out. From the same motive, the nobles at their various Casini invariably lay down their six-shooters on the small table in the vestibule, for no gentleman may be shot, or shot at, in his club by another gentleman. "Credat Judæus." Another odd, but disconcerting, feature of Sicilian town-life is observable in the universal custom of calling for the police and giving the alarm of fire by means of revolver-shots, with ball-cartridge, fired in the air. The same newspaper as above, within a few days, furnished the following item: "Last night in the Corso Scinà fifty shots were fired from several balconies; a veritable *fuoco di fila!* This, because it was feared that thieves had got into a house. None were found." No precaution is ever taken to avoid the possibility of the bullet's meeting a human target; a young girl quietly seated on a balcony was shot dead in this way last year. As the writer was walking about the lovely Villa Bellini at Catania, and enjoying the superb view of Etna, several revolver-shots went off in a neighboring street, but, save by the immediate bystanders, no notice whatever was taken of the startling incident among the promenaders.

To all this, it may be argued that the *permessi* are the same for Sicily as for the rest of the kingdom, a fact of which the writer is abundantly aware, for it was communicated to him by a merchant of Alta Italia, who showed his permit and told its price. "But," added the informant, "in my own part of the country, I use it merely as a passport or means of identification for registered letters and so forth; here it serves the purpose for which it was given." A permission to carry dangerous weapons, which, though objectionable on general grounds in any civilized country, may be fraught with a minimum of social risk in so extremely peaceful a district as Tuscany, works out into consequences of a most serious kind in a region where tempers run quick and high, and where centuries of maladministration have instilled the disposition in every one to be a law unto himself. But it unfortunately happens not only that the revenue from permits is extremely large, but that the damage to the trade by rescinding permissions or greatly raising the price of licenses might, from one week to another, involve serious political disturbance from coalition among sellers and buyers. The purpose of this article, however, being rather to record impressions and inferences derived from fact than to suggest remedial legislation, this subject will not be pursued further. He would be a bold, perhaps short-lived, Deputy who should propose to disarm the Sicilian.

To conclude, from what has been rapidly stated or sketched in the foregoing, that an adequate explanation has therein been suggested of a social condition of affairs unparalleled in any other country in Europe, would, according to the present writer's own habits of thought, imply the acceptance of one-sided social theories. Without attempting to revive the weary discussion as to the relative parts played in the formation of national life and thought by character and circumstance respectively, one may at least emphasize a fact which Sicilians acknowledge but reluctantly, and rarely have the courage to declare to their compatriots even under the cover of anonymity. It has been pronounced, on the highest authority, impracticable to frame an indictment against a whole nation; but there is yet a certain soundness in the contention of modern *Völkerpsychologie*, that general traits of character do in the long run determine the good or the bad fortune of peoples and social organizations. On such points as these it becomes necessary to consult men who, from long residence in the country or from exceptionally favorable sources of information, can vouch for the statements they make. Much has been written about the Sicilian character in its relation to the Mafia, too often in gingerly, half-apologetic vein, the writers showing apparently more eagerness to trace the historical growth of feelings and habits of conduct than to judge according to standards of social ordinance. Of what possible use can it be to attempt historical proof that the sentiments which render the Mafia possible are a form of "mediæval survival"? What is wanted is not an explanation of the origin of feelings, but a plain statement of their actual condition; how they stand in relation to law and order, and in how far their modification or mitigation is practicable in the event of their growing into dangerous proportions.

Here the writer must let others speak. From among the masses of documents consulted in various forms (of which but few supported their generalizations with concrete and verifiable facts), the conclusion slowly grew that the maladministration so often held responsible for the actual welter forms but a secondary element in its production. It does not enter into the design of this paper to give historical retrospects; but what conclusions might not be drawn from the theory of persistent racial traits in a country where "Sicilian Vespers" were once possible? The vengeance of the offended Mafia works out just as securely and secretly to-day. To-day, likewise, the intended victim is given no chance of a fair fight with a worthy foe; he is stabbed in the back, shot from behind a wall, or (rarely) poisoned. By every writer the decisions of this formidable organization are said to be inexorable, implacable; sometimes a word of warning *may* be given to the man marked for removal, but in the vast majority of cases, when his actions or his presence have been found by the great Capi-Mafia to threaten the easy working of the secret machine, he disappears with no more noise than the rifle-shot of his hidden executioner, while all endeavors to trace the deed of blood are absolutely vain. The construction and functioning of this machine have been so admirably set forth for English readers in Mr. F. Marion Crawford's 'The Rulers of the South' as to render all further description for the present quite needless.

Among the psychological causes that go to explain the problem, one may well place the radical suspiciousness, secretiveness, and self-sufficient independence of individual Sicilian character. These traits, to which reference has already been made, soon become obvious to one who strolls about a country-side and without indiscretion chats, as he might in Tuscany or Lombardy, with the peasants at rest or the frequenters of village taverns. Let any visitor to Sicily try this at a country fair or *festa*, and compare the result with what he has found anywhere between, let us suppose, Orvieto and Parma. The writer on one occasion, quite without guile, asked his *vetturino* in western Sicily, whether many people went from that part of the country to America. With a look of profound disapproval the man at once replied, "No, Signore, we are all honest people here." As to the independence of character and chafing under formal control, one may consult any officer who has had experience with Sicilian

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conscripts in time of peace: failing that information, any Continental schoolmaster or professor appointed to an educational post in Sicily.

It is in the light of this disposition that a now famous leader in the *Giornale di Sicilio* (December 10-11, 1899) described the Mafia in the following terms: "La mafia è infatti, sopratutto lutta estralegale per l'esistenza, parossismo di amor proprio, esercizio arbitrario e violento delle proprie ragioni" (The Mafia is, in fact, and above all, an extra-legal struggle for existence; a paroxysm of self-esteem, an arbitrary and violent application of individual reason). To this must also be added a trait of character for which the English dictionary has no equivalent word, the much-talked-of *omertà*. *Omertà* is much the strongest strand in the bond that holds the Mafiosi together. It stands for the unwritten code of which the first article may be said to run; "Thou shalt not bear witness against thy neighbor." One to whom this interpretation was suggested, dryly remarked that it differs from the Mosaic commandment in only one trifling word. Doubtless there are many who obey from fear of consequences; but is it not much more likely that the spirit of concealment, of resistance to legal inquiry that secures impunity to the offender, is fostered by parental teaching in the young until it becomes rooted in the very innermost nature? This alone is sufficient to account for the vitality of that *imperium in imperio* which goes by the name of the Mafia. To men brought up under such a spell, the very fact of concealment is fascinating; just as to the schoolboy it seems "so deuced clever" to outwit the authorities. There is something so primitive in this sentiment that one cannot but feel pity for the ignorant *contadini* hardly reached by the schoolmaster, and thus left to the perverted teachings of a local *capo*, himself under the influence of higher directors with everything to gain, commercially or politically, by keeping ideas of constitutional government and the wisdom of legality from the struggling, starving masses.

Attempts at explanation touch more dangerously delicate ground when one passes from country to town; but nothing can be gained by shirking even so serious an issue as this. The point has not, so far as the writer knows, been frankly raised by well-known writers on Sicily. If there is one impression more firmly fixed in the casual traveller's mind from even a brief visit to the large towns of Palermo, Catania, and Messina, it is the unusual amount of external show in dress and equipage combined with the altogether disproportionate number of apparent idlers in the streets; and this at every hour of the day. Those who know, maintain that the Neapolitan phrase "Tutto per l'apparenza" holds good in other domains of the ancient kingdom of the Two Sicilies; or, as a dapper fisherman of Sorrento once replied to a compliment on his Sunday outfit, "Bisogna castigare il mangiato" (Cut down on the provender). Even with this restriction, one is driven to wonder at the possibility of so much display while every one complains that the island is all but ruined. Still more surprising is the unfailing concourse of gossiping, well-groomed young men standing all day long doing nothing, chiefly about the Quattro Cantoni at Palermo, or at various favorable points in the long Via Stesicoro-Etnea at Catania. How is it possible for so many to trifle away the working hours, day in and day out, all through the year? An explanation was offered by one who, in virtue of his position, came into frequent and regular contact with Sicilian town youth of all classes. In his judgment, the very worst thing that can happen to these young men is to become possessed of the merest independent pittance, or to obtain a trifling appointment under Government. Bare living costs little in Sicily; but young men in all countries clamor for something more in the form of luxuries, procurable in various ways by such as are unprejudiced in the matter of employing idle hours by day or night. It is in this respect that the Mafia of the country districts differs so fundamentally from its urban manifestations. Among the peasants the secret power is employed almost exclusively for the protection of individuals and the order or class to which they belong; while in the towns it becomes the powerful and apparently inexhaustible resource of a class occupying the social *terrain vague* between unmistakably respectable people and recognized criminals in or out of jail. The very secrecy attending every kind of transaction favors the existence and growth of this equivocal social class. Mr. Crawford, in agreement with other authorities, points out that the origin of the Mafia in town or country is in no way akin to the infamous Neapolitan Camorra or Rogues' League; but the social consequences of the two organizations may, under the conditions specified above, nevertheless work out in much the same way.

In the fact of a growing disapproval of the Mafia, in regard to the principles involved as well as to their application, lies the firmest hope for better things among those who have not yet lost their faith in the future of Italian unity, in the ideals fought for and won by a generation of men of whom Sicilians, like other Italians, have every right to be proud. Despite the insular chauvinism of part of the Sicilian press, it is not difficult to detect signs that during the last few years the tone of public feeling in regard to these matters has undergone some change. All over the country to-day are to be found numbers of the intelligent middle class who openly admit, in private, that to belong to a coherent and active nation implies some personal sacrifice on the part of every citizen; that attempts at constitutional self-government are infinitely preferable to private, red-handed justice; and that, above all, no country is civilized in which the King's writ does not run.

Under these conditions the traveller in Sicily may freely move about among the lovely scenes which she offers in such profusion. As Alberto Scipioni said to Sir Henry Wotton, "*I pensieri stretti ed il viso sciolto* will go safely over the whole world." If, from time to time, his heart is wrung with pity for a noble people, he can still find a momentary relief in gazing outwards, away from unrest, under the protecting slopes of Etna, where

". . . L'azzuro Jonio sospira
Con suo ritmo pensoso verso gli aranci in fiore."

THE AMHERST ECLIPSE EXPEDITION.—IV.

SINGKEP, May 18, 1901.

The longest eclipse ever observed was not observed at Singkep. The tale of disaster is harrowing; but what shall it profit a man to become an astronomer if he be not already a philosopher? The two must ever march hand in hand, like Malay strollers in the streets of Singapore.

With sunshine and shadow so intermingled, and clouds generally of such small area, that, while one island of this lovely archipelago was dark and stormy, others would be seen in brightest light, one course for success on eclipse day seemed plainly indicated, and, accordingly, Professor Todd established supplementary observing stations in many different localities. By the courtesy of H. M. the Sultan of Lingga, in sending for our use his own personal yacht *Dalel*, this has been not only feasible but easy of accomplishment; and many are the telescopes and observers she has conveyed to one point and another among the islands, anticipating to-day's great event.

Pulo Lalang, a small island at the centre of the eclipse track, about fourteen miles south of Singkep, over which a large area of blue sky has hovered persistently, became an auxiliary station to the Amherst Expedition, and here Mr. Burgess, Government Analyst at Singapore, kindly took charge of a lens of 3½ inches, made by Goerz of Berlin, and prepared to expose thirty-six plates to coronal rays. With him, Mr. Sol was to make drawings and observations of shadow-bands. Mr. Symonds Fry of the British Marine Department was also enrolled in the Expedition ranks, having received sanction from the Colonial Secretary to leave Singapore for the purpose, and, by the kindness of Capt. Boldero, R.N., to bring a pair of excellent chronometers and a transit instrument belonging to his department. He was conveyed to Pulo Saya, a tiny island twenty miles east of Singkep, and with him a six-inch silvered glass reflector for making thirteen exposures in an automatic camera, giving an image of the sun half an inch in diameter. While Pulo Lalang has a few Malay inhabitants in a typical kampong under the cocoanuts, Pulo Saya boasts only rocks and palms. At Lingga with its fine peaks four or five thousand feet high, where blue skies so often alternate with the conditions at other islands, a Ross lens of 1½ inches diameter was sent, with thirty-six plates, for use by the Assistant Resident at Tandjong Boeton, Baron van Boetzelaer. Observations of shadow-bands were to be made by the Baroness, and drawings and snap-shots by the various assistants.

On the island of Singkep itself many supplementary stations were located. To Riya, on the northwest coast, we sent a two-inch lens by Rotter of Dresden, which gives an image of the sun three-eighths of an inch in diameter. This glass, mounted in a temporary frame, was picturesquely shouldered by coolies, who carried it miles through the jungle, to be used by Mr. Kagei of the Tin Company in making eight exposures during totality. Another, similarly set, was dispatched five miles to Ayerpoettie, where Mr. van Harrevelt would use the four-inch Bausch & Lomb lens in making thirty-two photographs of the corona.

Nearer Dabok several centres of observation were established. At the Sultan's summer palace on a hill, the path to which leads one through tropical masses of foliage and ferns and orchids incredibly luxuriant, a disk was set upon the flagstaff, behind

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which the innermost corona would be hidden, giving the eye a better opportunity to trace the delicate streamers in their long outer extension, if, indeed, this year's corona should exhibit them at all. A most interesting question was to be answered by the corona of 1901—whether or not the long streamers of last year's sunspot minimum have endured until now, past the beginning of a period of spot activity. Mr. van Gigch, commanding the military force of Riouw, prepared to draw behind this disk; while, on the broad terrace of masonry at the base of the flagpole, Mr. Bergsma, attorney at Riouw, watched for shadow-bands. On the pier-head, Mr. Rybering, of the Tin Company, was alert for the corona with a fine two-inch Clement & Gilmer (Paris) telephoto lens, and thirty-six plates, 4x5, which would give an image of the sun an inch in diameter. Nearer the company's offices another disk was elevated upon a tall cocoanut, where Mr. Elbers, second officer of the Government steamer *Flamingo* (sent here by the courtesy of the Dutch authorities to convey our telegram of eclipse results as speedily as possible to the nearest cable office, Singapore), was also to draw coronal streamers. Mr. Loriaux and Mr. Krull, general and local managers of the Tin Company; Mr. Ezerman, official "protector of the Chinese" in the Dutch islands; the Javanese doctor, and every individual on the island except the wondering Malays and the stolid Chinese coolies—all were impressed into the service of the Expedition for observation of some sort; and all were in place, pencil and paper or camera in hand, watching for the cloud-openings to come between us and the rapidly narrowing crescent of the sun.

The centre of all activities, however, the headquarters of the Expedition, is, by the courtesy of Dutch officials, the Government House, recently completed for the use of the Resident when he shall visit Singkep, and now converted for the time into workshop, dark-room, and observing quarters. The automatic commutator for exposing a large number of plates mechanically, devised by Professor Todd in Japan for the eclipse of 1887, and used by him with modifications since in West Africa in 1889, in Japan in 1896, and with signal success at Tripoli in May of last year, was entirely rebuilt for Singkep. Owing to the fickle skies known to prevail in this part of the world, it had not been intended to bring a large amount of complicated apparatus; but, upon arriving, and having the resources of the Tin Company so generously tendered us, both in material and in the labor of workmen, Professor Todd had the apparatus rudely but accurately constructed upon the spot, largely from the waste scrap-iron of the company's junk heap. With plenty of fine lenses, and a massive pendulum and "snapper," which is followed by a coolie in revolving the drums, this hastily constructed mechanical device has all the precision of a delicate astronomical instrument. For this commutator did not run by a Bond spring governor, or pneumatic or electric or gravity control, but Malay coolie power. To this were connected several cameras, among them the double polariscope lent and prepared especially for this eclipse by Dr. Wright of Yale University. It was planned for six exposures, three of one minute and three of forty seconds each. A large telephoto lens is also carried by the commutator, and a camera for exposure during the entire totality, for getting the outer extension of rays. An automatic camera was arranged for taking nearly 400 coronal photographs on plates 2x2½, which, although not a continuous film, would give almost a kinetoscope effect.

But the chief instrument at Government House is the twelve-inch Lyman reflector from the Amherst College Observatory, refigured by Brashear of Allegheny for this Expedition, with a focal length of 15 feet, which gives an image of the sun nearly two inches in diameter, and making 50 photographs. As before, the glycerine clock controlled its motion with absolute accuracy. The iron for its radial arm, twenty feet long, is of material formerly a part of the first horse railway built in Asia. Laid in Singapore, the rails were speedily torn up by Chinese, because of its expected competition with jinrikishas. Rolling-stock and equipment were bought by the Singkep Tin Company, portions of which are now used in ways unanticipated by its original projectors. Here the chief of the Expedition held scientific court, and an army of workmen kept steadily at the preparations, their tropical sloth continually spurred by energetic northern example. On eclipse morning all things were in complete readiness, Mr. Agassiz, our fine photographer from Singapore, putting a few last touches in the dark-room; Mr. Wilson, sent by the New York Botanical Museum to collect plants and seeds with the Expedition, presiding over the glycerine clock, and Mr. Van Dyk keeping guard over the coolie motive-power, lest it should become alarmed at a critical moment and flee for safety back to the kampong.

It had been planned that the bugler, whose "colors" and "taps" form a pleasant daily feature of life on this far-away island, should announce by a simple succession of notes the progress of totality every fifteen seconds, from the tonic to the octave above, giving upon the latter one note at the end of the first minute, two after the second, and so on. But it was discovered in time that his Malay nerves could not stand the strain of an eclipse, his dread being so great that, instead of the "eclipse melody" at exact intervals, he would be quite as liable to play nothing at all—or, perhaps, an untimely call "to arms." So a bell was attached to the commutator, and gave, by an ingenious device of the astronomer, precise warning of the passing of totality's precious moments. Although off the cable and telegraph lines here, our dispatch being conveyed at once to Singapore only by courtesy of the Government, Professor Todd was interested in telegraphing ahead of the moon's shadow no less than last year. By arranging with Mr. W. G. Taylor, General Manager at Singapore of the Eastern Extension Telegraph and Cable Company, it was agreed that a dispatch from Mr. Maunder at Mauritius should be at once sent, after the eclipse there, to the observers at and near Padang, reaching them an hour or more ahead of the Sumatra darkening. This required concessions from many companies, and holding important lines for the instant transit of the eclipse message. The Eastern and South African Cables, the Eastern Cables, the Government of India Land Lines, the Eastern Extension Cables, and the Netherland-India Land Lines agreed to Professor Todd's request through Mr. Taylor, links in the chain being gradually added until we were able to write the observers that it had all been accomplished, and that they would hear from Mr. Maunder of what he had seen and done at the Mauritius end of the shadow-path before they were themselves engulfed. Thus everything was in complete and hopeful readiness, and it only remained for the sky to be clear to insure brilliant success.

The morning dawned brightly clear and sunny, a slight wind blew softly from the west, while a few cumulus clouds lurked decoratively along the horizon, their tops almost golden as the sunrise light flooded their creamy recesses and billowy crests. As the forenoon wore on, a dark bank seemed to collect, without perceptible movement, in the south. Over the sea it rose, until the horizon grew ominous and the water turned gray green. The dry rustle of sago palms gave a counterfeit presentment of falling rain, as their long leaflets swayed against one another in the changing wind. But the dazzling sunlight, so hot that it actually burned one's skin, remained unstained, and gradually the clouds retreated. The day grew brighter and more promising. At quarter to eleven another bank, this time black and threatening, came up quickly over the northwestern hills, and shrouded the sun almost before we were aware. One touch of the southeast monsoon, and its advance would have been checked. Day after day we had seen it conquer. But the wind died out, a few fitful gusts coming from the approaching shower. By eleven it was raining briskly, then fiercely, and although the first contact, about a quarter after, would be lost, we were rather glad to have the rain set in, for showers are seldom of long duration in Singkep, and the smarter the rainfall the more quickly past. The sea horizon grew clearer and more sharply defined as the mountains retreated in moisture, and large areas of blue sky persisted in south and east.

By half after twelve the rain was diminishing, but the clouds had begun to break only in the far southwest, over Pulo Lalang, and so slowly that a sense of impending disaster spread through the waiting company, American, Dutch, English; even the Malay workmen began to look questioningly at the sky, and then about them at the fine lenses they had helped to mount, and the mechanical apparatus at which they had toiled, admiringly if uncomprehendingly. So large an area of clear sky still lay above the sea that the astronomer suggested my going out to the Government steamer, which lay in harbor perhaps a mile from the eclipse station, on the chance that she might be at the edge of the cloud. In a few moments the Captain welcomed me on board, with the happy announcement that he thought the clouds would still break in time for totality. So, ensconced on the bridge, I waited with pencil and paper, while the slender crescent of the sun looked out through rifts in the strangely drifting cloud, of which two strata moved in opposite directions. The sky in its blue spaces turned to livid cobalt and black, and the light grew cold and ashen.

Along the shore, coolies, at work for tin in the shallow water, hastily left their floats and dredges and made all speed to shore. A few tom-toms began. The beach glowed singularly white, with an almost phosphorescent lustre; the heavy palms stood dark against the mountains, the mountains deep

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purple against a beryl-blue sky. Suddenly the water changed to portentous green, pale but sinister. Then, all in a moment, what little normal light had remained, went out; the peaks leaped into deeper purple relief against a yellow sky, clear, peaceful, lifeless. The southwest horizon took on a dull orange glow, the gleaming beaches disappeared—sudden, windless silence fell. Even the quiet ripples against the sides of the *Flamingo* ceased their lap in the waiting hush. The sharp peak of Lingga, more and more unshrouded, pointed a purple finger at the clear sky above. Beyond, a bank of cumulus lay, like drifting, golden smoke; and remnants of shower clouds lurked low among the Singkep hills, bringing out unsuspected ranges, in line after line of singular perspective, as if ghostly fires were smouldering away and away to spectral ashes.

At first the light seemed comparable to early evening, perhaps an hour later than sunset, when the afterglow has still preserved gorgeous reminiscences of a yet more splendid pageant; but it does not express the mental effect. That was more as if one might have died; and while the soul lay in quiet surprise, unmixed with emotion or memory or even hope, in the midst of surroundings not yet fully apprehended, the dawn of a new life crept up from some unseen source, with light only strong enough not to dazzle the opening eyes. In that strangely quiet borderland one might dream the possibility of wings, but not yet the full capacity for flight. The outlines of the mountains were the same, yet it was not Singkep which lay in panorama before me, but a far land where the sun was not, uncomprehended, leagues away, on some other world than this.

One or two stars appeared, but the corona never once gleamed through, and the disappointment seemed remote and of small consideration during that amazing six minutes and its outlying seconds, when all the stress and rush of life was quieted as by some mighty hand—when Nirvana seemed already to have begun, in eternal silence. And then, somewhere behind the overhead canopy, the light of this world slipped back. The widening sun-crescent soon appeared, and the last contact was clearly observed.

From Riya and Ayerpoettie rain is reported, and at Pulo Lalang during totality, though it was clear on the little island much longer than at Dabok. Dr. Abbott, an American naturalist cruising among the islands, reports the corona seen through cloud-rifts on the northern coast of Singkep, and as distinctly pentagonal in shape; he also saw the impressive rush of the moon's shadow before totality, as well as its recession in mighty flight. Word comes that it has been clear at Lingga, and that Baron von Boetzelaer has succeeded in getting thirty-six coronal photographs; so one of our auxiliary stations was not established in vain. No word as yet from Pulo Saya.

MABEL LOOMIS TODD.

THE MILITARY CHIEFS OF THE COMMUNE.

PARIS, June 20, 1901.

Will the history of the Commune of Paris, in 1871, ever be written? It is not a tempting subject, that accumulation of horrors, that armed revolt against the Constituent Assembly elected freely by the country after an unfortunate war; a sort of spontaneous anarchy, to use a word of Taine's. The movement of the Commune was led by obscure leaders, by the sort of men of whom our great Corneille says in "Cinna,"

"Un tas d'hommes perdus de dettes et de crimes";

the same class of men of whom Tacitus said, "ære alieno et vitiis onustos." Will history remember their names, which had only a day of calamitous notoriety? Many are already dead, many forgotten; if we searched carefully, we might find some of them in high offices under the Republic.

The thesis of those who dare even now to defend the Commune is this: The Commune fought for the establishment of the Republic, which was threatened by the Assembly at Versailles. The answer is easy enough: This Assembly at Versailles did not establish the monarchy by force; it respected the will of the country; it did not accept the "non possumus" of the Comte de Chambord, when he refused to adopt the tricolor flag; it framed the Constitution which is still the law of the Republic; it made, in fact, the Republic. In reality, the Commune was the explosion of the worst passions which always exist in a great capital, and which were no longer curbed by an established organization of force and of police. When the terms of the capitulation of Paris were signed, Bismarck proposed to Jules Favre the disarmament of the National Guard of Paris, but Favre insisted on leaving the citizens of Paris their arms. The two regular regiments of the army which had done most of the real fighting during the siege had to deliver their arms to the Germans; as for the National Guard, they kept their guns and created the Commune, thus giving the enemies of France the spectacle of a civil war.

Maxime Du Camp's 'Les Convulsions de Paris' will always remain a standard document for this deplorable period. I noticed lately another very valuable document, a study of Gen. Bourelly on the Ministry of War of the Commune, and its three successive Ministers — Cluseret, Rossel, and Delescluze; for the Commune had no less than three Ministers during its short period of ascendancy in Paris. Cluseret, who died not long ago, almost an octogenarian, as a Deputy from one of the departments of the South, published Memoirs in 1888, in three volumes. In the two first he defended the insurrection of the Commune, while at the same time criticising very severely many of the members of the Council of the Commune; in the third volume, entitled 'The End of the Empire,' he justified certain acts of his military and his political career, and ended his apology by a regular lecture on the "guerre des rues"—a sort of epitome for future insurrections.

Cluseret was born in Paris in 1823. He entered the military school of Saint-Cyr in 1841, and in 1843 joined the Fifty-fifth Regiment of the line, of which his father was colonel. After the Revolution of 1848, he was for a time put on half pay for his participation in the Socialist propaganda. He took active service again in Algeria and in the Crimea; he was wounded in an assault before Sebastopol; in July, 1848, he resigned, and became the agent of a great proprietor in the department of the Gironde. He was evidently fond of an adventurous life, for we see him in 1860 in the little army of Garibaldi, during the campaign of the Two Sicilies; he was slightly wounded at the siege of Capua. In 1861 he goes to America and offers his services to the North. He had real military capacity, and he obtained a general's commission. You know more in America than we do in France of his relations to the war of secession. In 1867 he took part, under a false name, in the Fenian agitation in Ireland. He was condemned in contumacy, since he had taken refuge in France. There he became a journalist, entered into relations with certain members of the International Society, and was so compromised that he had to flee again to America.

On the news of the war between France and Germany, he left America and returned to France. He at once secured a place on one of the committees formed in the twenty wards of Paris by a self-elected committee which called itself the Central Committee, and which became the soul of the Communistic movement. He did not remain in Paris during the siege, but became the promoter of a League of the South, organized in Marseilles. After the capitulation of Paris, he returned to the capital, and, when the Commune organized its committees, he was assigned to the Military Committee; he was soon afterwards appointed "delegate to the war." From the day of his arrival at the Ministry of War date the first systematic efforts for the organization of the fighting battalions of the National Guard. This organization, which was the subject of numerous instructions from Cluseret, reveals his technical knowledge and his practical spirit. He was all the time beset by great difficulties—the total want of discipline among the National Guards and their heaven-born officers, the rivalry of the Central Committee of the Commune and its Executive Committee, the jealousies of Eudes and Bergeret, who had by a few days preceded him in command; the cowardice of many legions. Personally, Cluseret showed the courage of a soldier—he reoccupied in person the fort of Issy, which had been abandoned by the Communists; but he was almost immediately afterwards imprisoned by order of the Commune. Some said that he had tried to deliver the Archbishop of Paris, some that he had led Communists to fight without cartridges, some that he had received a large sum of money from M. Thiers, or from the Germans. Cluseret was denounced as a traitor. His sudden downfall was probably caused in reality by his dictatorial ways and his contempt, which he did not much conceal, for the members of the Commune. The Commune made Col. Rossel his successor. After the defeat of the Commune, Cluseret fled to England, and afterwards went to Switzerland. He came back to Paris after the amnesty of 1880, and was elected Deputy from the Department of Var, in 1888; he remained in the Chamber until his death, on the 22d of August, 1900.

The "delegate to the war" appointed in place of Cluseret was an officer of the regular army. Rossel was born at Saint-Brieuc in 1844. He was educated at the military school of La Flèche, entered in 1862 the Polytechnic School, and in 1864 the School of Engineers at Metz. He was appointed lieutenant of engineers in 1866 at Metz, and captain at Bourges in 1869. In 1870 he was at Metz with the staff. At the end of the siege he was among the discontented officers who would not entertain the idea of

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a capitulation, and who judged severely the inaction of Marshal Bazaine. Rossel afterwards published a pamphlet under the title 'The Military Situation in Metz on the 26th of September, 1870.' In November, 1870, he was at Brussels, for he had succeeded in escaping on the 28th of October, after the capitulation. He sent to a Belgian paper, the Belgian *Indépendance*, two articles which were reprinted in pamphlet form under the title of 'The Last Days of Metz.' He offered his services to the Government of Tours, and was sent to the camp of Nevers, with the title of Colonel of Engineers. He left Nevers for Paris on the 19th of March, the day after the outbreak of the Commune, and sent to Gen. Le Flô, Minister of War, a letter in which he said: "Informed by a dispatch from Versailles, made public to-day, that there are two conflicting parties in the country, I do not hesitate to take my place with the party which does not embrace generals guilty of capitulation." On the 22d of March he was named chief of a legion by Cluseret; on April 2 he was arrested, from some motive which was not even mentioned, was released the next day, and made chief of staff to Cluseret. He entered on his duties with his military exactitude. The relations of Cluseret and Rossel, which were good at first, became difficult when Cluseret found that his lieutenant might be a possible rival.

Rossel was extremely active; he had much to do with Generals Dombrowski and Wroblewski (is it not curious to find these foreigners among the men who had the effrontery to dispose of the fate of France?). Among the documents which well exhibit his fanatical character, we may cite this letter written in answer to Colonel Laperche, who had, in the name of Marshal MacMahon, sent a summons to surrender to the insurgents who were holding the fort of Issy: "My dear comrade, the next time you allow yourself to send us so insolent a summons as your autograph letter of yesterday, I will order your envoy to be shot, according to the rules of war. Your devoted comrade, Rossel." Rossel directed all the measures for the erection of a triple line of barricades in Paris, in case the troops from Versailles should enter the capital. We find, among the papers which he submitted to the Council of the Commune, the list of the troops of the Commune. The infantry numbered 96,325 National Guards in the *bataillons de marche* (that is to say, the battalions which were sent from place to place), and 94,100 in the sedentary battalions. From these numbers must be deducted 27,774 absentees in the *bataillons de marche* and 11,339 absentees in the sedentary battalions. In reality, if all these men drew their pay, there were never more than about 25,000 fighting men. The artillery counted 5,445 artillerymen and an immense number of guns. There were 3,461 freeshooters and only 779 cavalrymen. After the capture of the fort of Issy, which was evacuated by the Communists in the greatest disorder, Rossel felt that all his efforts were vain, and resigned. Delescluze, an old republican journalist, was appointed in his stead.

Rossel hid himself for some time after Paris was taken. He was arrested on the 7th of June, and was shot on the 28th of November, 1871, at Satory, with a sergeant of the army who had served the Commune, and Ferré, the cruel instigator of the massacre of the hostages and of the Archbishop of Paris. Delescluze, the successor of Rossel, was shot on a barricade when the troops from Versailles reëntered Paris.

Correspondence.

THE UNIVERSAL CLASSICS MSS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I observe in your issue of June 13, 1901, a note of warning in regard to the "Universal Classics Manuscripts," the prospectus of which has recently been distributed. I beg to place before your readers the facts concerning this undertaking, which seems to be as flagrant a case of international piracy as any that has occurred in recent years. The prospectus describes the work as "Facsimiles from Originals in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, with descriptions, editorial notes, references, and translations by George F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum, and a special introduction by S. M. Hamilton." M. Walter Dunne is named as the publisher, A. P. C. Griffin, Library of Congress, as editorial director, and Vincent Parke as general manager.

The publisher's announcement states that the manuscripts are reproduced in facsimile from the originals in the British Museum archives, and characterizes the publication as "perhaps the most important inaugurated in the new century." The simple fact is, however, that these 150 facsimiles were published in 1895 to 1899, in five instalments, by the British Museum, are still on sale, and may be obtained at the Museum or from any of its agents (one of whom, the Oxford University Press, has a house in New York) for £1.17.6.

Mr. Warner of the British Museum writes me that "the American edition has been published without the permission or knowledge of the authorities of the Museum. The plates have undoubtedly been obtained by photographing our reproductions, and not directly from the originals, and the letterpress appears to have been appropriated in an equally unscrupulous way." Mr. Griffin writes me that with this collection of manuscript facsimiles he has had nothing to do, though he is the "editorial director" of a series of which the manuscript collection forms a part. The American edition is absolutely the same as the English, except that it has a new title, illuminated titlepages, and an additional introduction, and is enclosed in two portfolios. The letterpress pages seem to be a little better in mechanical execution than the English, but the facsimiles betray their secondary origin by a slight additional thickness of line.

It is not often that a reprint of this kind is offered at a *higher* price than the original, but in the present case Mr. Dunne, in a circular letter, dated May 27, 1901, says: "The coöperation of the librarians of the country is expected in giving publicity to this magnificent work, and in consideration thereof librarians will be furnished with the entire set at the special net price of $19.75," a little more than twice what the same thing can be obtained for of the British Museum.—Very truly yours,

William C. Lane.

Library of Harvard University, July 1, 1901.

BISMARCK MISTRANSLATED.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to direct attention to a misleading "lapsus calami" in the translation of the letter of Prince Bismarck's of July 7, 1866, reviewed by you in No. 1878 of the *Nation*, page 519. You quote from 'The Love Letters':

"Our people are ready to embrace one another, every man so deadly in earnest, calm, obedient, etc."

The original, on page 573, has "Unsre Leute sind zum Küssen," which means: "Our men deserve to be kissed"; or, better: "I feel like hugging our men." J. H. S.

Berkeley, Cal., July 3, 1901.

Notes.

The family and friends of the late John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts from 1861 to 1866, are preparing his biography. All persons who will be so kind as to lend letters for the purpose, are assured that these will be carefully handled and returned. Letters should be sent to Henry Greenleaf Pearson, box 395, Kennebunkport, Me.

Richard Garnett's 'Essays of an Ex-Librarian,' Edmund Gosse's "ironic fantasy" 'Hypolympia,' and a reprint of Lewis H. Morgan's 'League of the Iroquois' are among the contemplated fall publications of Dodd, Mead & Co.

E. P. Dutton & Co. will shortly publish 'Australasia, Old and New,' by James Grattan Grey; and 'Imperial London,' illustrated, by Arthur H. Beavan.

From Brentano's is soon to appear 'Studies of French Criminals of the 19th Century,' by H. B. Irving, son of the tragedian, and author of a 'Life of Judge Jeffries.'

The first part of a new 'History of Canada (New France),' by C. P. Lucas of the Colonial Office, is on the eve of publication by the Oxford University Press, along with 'An English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia,' by the Rev. H. F. Tozer, who introduces translations, paraphrases, and explanations.

The spring number of the New York Reform Club's organ, *Municipal Affairs*, published at No. 52 William Street, consists of a new Bibliography of the World's Literature on Municipal Problems and City Conditions, compiled by Robert C. Brooks of Cornell University. Brought down to the close of the last century, it is nearly four times as full as the Bibliography published in 1897.

That comprehensive year-book of philanthropy, 'Burdett's Hospitals and Charities,' has appeared for 1901, and may be had in this country of the Scribners. The information here gathered is of such general value as to justify us in calling attention to the editor's request that pamphlets relating to hospitals in this country may be sent to him.

Mr. Albert S. Bolles, whose writings on financial subjects are well known, now adds to the list 'American Finance' (New York: *The American Banker*). The book is a collection of facts concerning the revenue and expenditure of the Government, banking, etc. Its chief value is for reference, and on this account a fuller index would have improved it.

The life of the financial world in London

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is described by Mr. Charles Duguid in a little book entitled 'How to Read the Money Article' (London: Effingham Wilson). Some of the facts stated and stories told are curious, and the style is clear and vigorous.

A second edition of Prof. Charles S. Devas's 'Political Economy' is published by Longmans, Green & Co. This edition has been enlarged and revised, and in many parts rewritten in view of recent changes in economic conditions as well as theories.

'The New Basis of Geography,' by J. W. Redway (Macmillan), makes a good point in noting that the popular phrase which is taken as the title of the book, is not altogether justified; for the present progress of geography is merely a phase of the continual progress it has been making all through the past hundred years. The style of a number of the chapters is that of essays rather than appropriate to a professional library (the "Teachers' "), and, while the essays are suggestive in many useful directions, they hardly constitute "a manual for the preparation of the teacher," but rather for his edification after preparation. Most teachers being, however, overprepared in the letter and underprepared in the spirit of their subjects, this book will prove of much value in opening up the larger aspects of geography, which could hardly find presentation in a systematic text-book. It is entertaining and edifying throughout, although sometimes not so serious as might be wished.

'Business Law,' by Thomas Raeburn White (Silver, Burdett & Co.), a text-book for schools and colleges, is supplied with an introduction by Roland P. Falkner, associate professor of statistics in the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. White is himself a member of the Philadelphia bar and of the law faculty of the same university. His aim is to present the elementary principles of the law relating to "the more common business transactions" (contracts, sales, commercial paper, partnership, etc.), "in a style so clear and free from technicality that they can be readily understood by persons unused to legal phraseology." Such attempts are proverbially unsuccessful, and many people believe that they do positive harm by encouraging the half-educated to believe that law can be taught without the impediment of what Mr. White calls "legal verbiage." On the other hand, the smattering of learning contained in them no doubt stimulates the mind of students who would not otherwise be led in this direction, and sometimes attracts them to the serious study of the law. Mr. White has performed his task with a good deal of cleverness. The volume will possibly be found of more use to teachers than to students.

A more strictly professional essay in the same direction is 'The Law in its Relation to Physicians,' by Arthur N. Taylor of the New York bar (D. Appleton & Co.). The author has done his best to interest the physician in his legal rights and liabilities, and has made a full collection of authorities bearing on the subject. How far physicians will profit by his work, we cannot say, but lawyers who advise physicians will find it a careful compendium.

'The Law of Combinations' (Chicago: Callaghan & Co.) is the title of a valuable work, in two volumes, by Arthur J. Eddy of the Chicago bar. It deals with monopolies, Trusts, combinations both of labor and capital, conspiracy, and contracts in restraint of trade; and exhibits the scope of Federal and State anti-Trust legislation. The author has wisely refrained from theorizing, and leaves the statutes and decisions to speak for themselves, declaring that the former are so "diverse" and the latter so "conflicting" as to "defy reduction."

John Byrne & Co. (Washington, D. C.) are public-spirited enough to attempt a Legal Classic Series, which they have begun with Beames's Translation of Glanville. An introduction is furnished by Prof. Joseph Henry Beale, jr., of the Harvard Law School. Glanville is to be followed by Littleton's 'Tenures,' Britton, 'The Mirror of Justice,' 'Fleta,' etc. Mr. Beale's introduction is interesting; he discusses the authorship of the book intelligently, and sums up its merits by saying that it is possible to get from Glanville "a rather complete picture of the common law at the end of the reign of Henry II.," *i. e.*, toward the end of the twelfth century. As to the authorship, which was accepted as unquestioned from the time of the appearance of the book to the nineteenth century, Mr. Beale sees no reason to doubt that the work was in substance that of Henry's "Chief Justiciar," "The King's Eye," the faithful, wise, grave, and eloquent Ranulph de Glanville.

'One of China's Scholars,' by Mrs. Howard Taylor (London: Morgan & Scott), is the story, founded on an autobiography, of the son of a gentleman and a man of property in North China. The author, who is connected with the China Inland Mission, describes some typical scenes in family life—as, the birth of a boy, his first school, and his marriage—and then relates certain incidents in Hsi's career before his conversion to Christianity. This includes a graphic picture of the sufferings of a victim of the opium habit, and an account of the terrible famine of 1878 in Shansi. It was in the following year that an English missionary conceived the idea of offering money prizes for the best essays on certain themes taken from the Scriptures. Packets, containing this proposal and brief statements of the subjects, were distributed among the six or seven thousand students who were attending the triennial examination at the capital of the province. One of these fell into Hsi's hands, and, prompted by the destitution caused by the opium habit and the famine, he, together with more than a hundred others, wrote, and three of the four prizes offered fell to him. This led to his engagement as the missionary's teacher, and eventually to his conversion. An account of his work as a Christian pastor, without salary or any remuneration, is reserved for another volume, but a brief reference is made to his efforts for the cure of opium-smokers by means of opium refuges. These are "no less than forty in number, and now extend from this [Shansi] to four adjacent provinces. Pastor Hsi manufactures at his own home all the medicines used in the refuges, and personally superintends their operations." The book is especially noteworthy for the concise statement of the whole educational scheme by which a man attains the second or M.A. degree.

The mountaineers of eastern Kentucky are the subject of the principal article in the *Geographical Journal* for June. Miss Ellen C. Semple describes the physical features of their country, their origin, homes, industries, education, habits of thought and language, and their religious customs, with vivid sketches of personal incidents during a horseback ride of more than 350 miles through this region. Owing to its well-nigh complete isolation this branch of the most progressive of all races retains the civilization, that of the eighteenth century, which it brought to its present home, and speaks the English of Shakspere. Other articles are an account of exploration in the basin of the Linyanti, a tributary of the Zambesi, a notice of Joris Carolus, a forgotten Arctic explorer, by Sir Martin Conway, and a description, with diagrams and illustrations, of the Japanese earthquake of October 28, 1891.

That amusing illustration of British military ingenuousness, the delivery of guns, train, and men to De Wet at Sanna's Post, March 31, 1900, is described by a competent eye-witness, Capt. Reichmann, our attaché with the Boers, in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* for July. Aware that the enemy was in their rear, the British assumed that a difficult crossing in their front was open to them, and, without precaution, drove quietly into the very arms of their foes. At a cost of two killed and eleven wounded the Boers, whose strength was 400, inflicted a loss of 100 killed and wounded, 440 prisoners, 7 out of 12 guns, all the baggage, about 150 wagons, and between one and two thousand draught-animals. This was accomplished by the simple process of sending 1,100 men behind the British camp of 6,000 to start the column in the right direction, so that the 400 in front might await it without concern. Incidentally, it appears that, later in the day, six mounted Boers were sent out "to shoot back" an approaching squadron of lancers, which they did, and still later ten Boers were detailed "to shoot back" two other squadrons. Capt. Reichmann narrates without comment what he saw, but the story, mingled with some minor personal experiences, is told well, because plainly and without embellishment. It illustrates some of the difficulties that befall those who are slow to appreciate the conditions of active campaigning.

An interesting explanation of the word Mephistopheles is proposed and defended by W. H. Roscher, in an article entitled "Ephialtes," found in volume xx. of the philological section of the reports of the Saxon Academy of Sciences. Rejecting the many proposed mechanical derivations of the word from the Greek or the Hebrew, the writer first analyzes the character of Mephistopheles as depicted by mediæval literature, and finds that he is represented as an obliging and helpful spirit, ready at any moment to assist those whom he favors, after the manner of kobolds, elfs, and so forth. Hence the derivation of the name μεγιστ-ώφέλης *i. e.*, useful in the highest degree; kindred in origin to that of ancient Ephialtes, usually identified with Pan. The change from Megistopheles to Mephistopheles Roscher explains as intentional, and finds parallels in many popular corruptions of the names of gods and demons, originating in the fear that, if their names were correctly pronounced, their presence would be unnecessarily invoked, followed by punishment.

The catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos, recently completed in its second volume for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, has been in preparation since 1889 by Prof. S. P. Lambros,

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who holds the chair of history in the University of Athens. This work makes accessible to modern scholarship at least the leading facts concerning the more than ten thousand Greek manuscripts which have been accumulating in the course of centuries in the "Monks' Republic," which, together with Jerusalem and Mt. Sinai, constitute the three sacred monastic shrines and literary storehouses of the Orthodox Church. Professor Lambros visited Mt. Athos for the first time in 1880, but could not go a second time until 1895, and in this latter year the first volume of his catalogue was published. He has examined and described in all 6,582 volumes, found in the twenty-four cloisters and monk villages (σκῆται) on Mt. Athos. The value of the collection is, however, not in proportion to these numbers. More than one-half of the manuscripts were written after the art of printing had been invented. In several of these collections there are only a few specimens dating earlier than the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Duplicates in great number are found—hundreds of copies of the gospels, the Psalter, church and prayer-books. Indeed, nine-tenths of the books are of a religious character.

In our comment last week on the new British census, a typographical error made Scotland for the first time more "prosperous" than Ireland instead of "populous"—a melancholy misrepresentation.

—Mr. Eliot Gregory has, in *Harper's* for July, an article (illustrated by reproductions in color of paintings by Henry Hutt) on "Newport in Summer." It deserves attention as being a slashing criticism of the summer life of our *nouveaux riches*. Newport, according to Mr. Gregory, has had three distinct phases of life: first, as a provincial seaport; second, as the chief sea-side watering-place of the quiet American society of fifty years since; third (in the last twenty years), as "a focus of folly, extravagance, and newspaper notoriety, the fad of our wealthiest plutocracy, and perhaps the most advertised watering-place on the globe." There are, however, he thinks, signs of a change in the air. The great "palace-building" era has seen its day. Newporters of the next decade will lead more reasonable lives than their parents. They will not try to build each a larger house than his neighbor; they will not waste the summer in entertaining; they will live sane and independent sea-side lives. This prediction, we trust, is all true; indeed, a good many Newporters would probably say that Mr. Gregory's satire is a little misdirected, and that the people who really lead the most silly and noisy lives at Newport are not those who constitute the backbone of its society—not multi-millionaires, but pushing parvenus, giddy with their first million, who have not yet learned that all real aristocrats have quiet manners and are unostentatious. But, leaving all this aside, many of Mr. Gregory's hits are undeniable. His satire is keener and more searching than that of the "Potiphar Papers," though not always in such good taste. In fact, much of what he says is less satire than bald fact. It is true that the old Newport villas on the cliffs were appropriate to the place and harmonized with their surroundings; it is true that a palace in a five-acre lot is a mistake; it is true that what ought to be one great charm of such a place—privacy—is sadly lacking; it is true that Newport is a place where much splendor is mixed with much "slouch." Can it be that our magnates have really barbarized rather than improved Newport? We must find out for ourselves; charges such as Mr. Gregory makes are never replied to by the indicted class. "The Buddhist Discovery of America," by John Fryer, is the title of an antiquarian article undertaking to solve some of the questions raised by the prehistoric remains of Central America. The striking illustrations are from photographs by C. B. Waite. According to Mr. Fryer, who is a professor of Oriental languages and literature in the University of California, the evidence in favor of his theory is not merely satisfactory, but overwhelming.

—The leading paper in the July *Century* is on "Working One's Way through Women's Colleges," by Alice Katharine Fallows, with pictures by Charlotte Harding. It is a sequel to an article by the same writer on working one's way through men's colleges, in the last number. The impression is made by both articles, and is said to be confirmed by experience, that college education in this country is, like a good many other things, "overdone" for both sexes—that is, that such an abundant provision for college education is made that large numbers of the young of both sexes are induced to struggle for a college degree though their circumstances, as a whole, make the attempt entirely unsuitable. As this writer points out, working one's way through college is, for a young woman, owing to physical causes, a more serious thing than for a young man. "Add to the demands for college work (which the average student finds quite enough to occupy her attention) the anxiety which self-support involves, and the student must be robust indeed who does not show the effect of it." In an article called "The True Story of Harman Blennerhassett," Therese Blennerhassett-Adams undertakes to give the explanation of Blennerhassett's adoption of America as his country. She calls it a secret, and, while admitting that the fact is not now published for the first time, says that it was carefully kept from his immediate descendants. The secret was that he married his niece, and in consequence could no longer live on the other side. Hence his emigration to America and his withdrawal to the West. The matter is curious, rather than important, as it can hardly be said to explain his relations with Burr. Louis Dyer has a couple of pages on the "Millenary of King Alfred at Winchester," accompanied by a reproduction of the colossal statue by Hamo Thornycroft, which is to be unveiled on that occasion. Mr. Cleveland publishes the conclusion of his "Venezuelan Boundary Controversy," but we do not see that he adds much to what was already known. It seems that the Monroe Doctrine required that there should be arbitration in order that we might know whether the Monroe Doctrine had been violated; and those who "most loudly reprehended and bewailed our vigorous assertion of the Monroe Doctrine" were "the timid ones who feared personal financial loss," or speculators. Fortunately, "the great mass of our countrymen—the plain people of the land"—rallied with "sublime patriotism" to the support of the doctrine of the immortal Monroe, and saved the country. This is a strange perversion of history; the fact is, that it was the plain people who had a panic; the patriots who rallied were M.C.s who knew that their salaries were safe whether it was peace or war.

—The *Atlantic* has an article on "Sixteenth-Century Trusts," by Ambrose P. Winston, which is worth reading, and in which reasons are given for thinking Trusts and the fear of them no new thing. If writers on this subject, we may say in passing, would conscientiously adhere to facts, they would probably write less, but more to the purpose. Two or three points deserve to be borne in mind. So far as known, Trusts as they existed a few years ago have come to an end. All noted aggregations of capital now existing in this country are corporations; to discuss them as Trusts is misleading. An economical writer who does not attend to this should be docked thirty numbers and thirty days' pay. Another point is, that nothing is a legal "monopoly" unless the vender has the market to himself and others are prohibited from selling. Every one has a monopoly in the sale of his own labor; the French Government has a monopoly in the sale of tobacco; the United States Steel Corporation has no monopoly in the sale of steel. Still another point is, that the efforts of former generations to prevent forestalling, regrating, monopolies, etc., were products of periods in which all markets were more or less local and controlled by Government, with the result of widespread distress among the poor. We live in an age in which markets and prices are generally coextensive with the limits of the commercial world and uncontrolled by Government, and prosperity is widespread, while this prosperity has closely attended the development of the modern industrial corporation. In other words, as the octopus extends his ravages, his miserable victim becomes better and better off. In "Two Generations of Quakers" we have many curious extracts from the diary of Ann Whitall of Red Bank, New Jersey, by Logan Pearsall Smith, and some "Recollections of a Quaker Boy," by the late Rowland E. Robinson. Ann Whitall was a Friend of a highly Calvinist turn and of a somewhat original character. Her "Meddatations" would seem to bear even more editing than they here receive.

—In *Scribner's*, signs may be seen of an editorial avulsion, if such a word be allowable, from fiction. Its July number is full of serious articles, of which the best is Mr. W. C. Brownell's criticism of Matthew Arnold. Mr. Brownell is *facile* chief American critic of our period, and our only objection to his method is that he has a tendency to put more into an article than it will hold. He overestimates the acuteness and capacity of his reader, on whose attention he puts sometimes too great a strain. This article on Matthew Arnold contains the material for a dozen essays, and should be studied as well as read. What he says about criticism, what he says about Matthew Arnold's poetry, his style, his religion, and his fame, all seems to us both original and excellent; the way in which he makes his points is always his own. Of Arnold's method in criticism, he says: "It is eminently the antithesis of impressionist criticism," the species "most in vogue at the present time." "Certain definite *ideas* held with elastic firmness, but not developed into any set of procrustean principles, formed his *credo*,

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and his criticism consisted in the application of these as a test and measure of quality and worth." He sees that Arnold had the "critical imagination," though, as he very justly points out, criticism, as it does not primarily appeal to the imagination, will never be as popular as will those branches of literature which act as stimulants to it. That Arnold is at the opposite pole from Taine is a fact which has not, perhaps, occurred to many admirers of the latter's pseudo-scientific formulas. The contrast between them is very neatly analyzed here. There are two points which Mr. Brownell omits to dwell upon—perhaps because enough has been said about them already—one, that Arnold's iteration of his text is rather clerical than literary; the other, that his English, though as clear as that of Swift, has a French edge, which makes it different from that of almost every other Anglo-Saxon writer.

—In the midst of still multiplying and uniformly genial notices of his 'Autobiography of a Journalist,' news comes of the passing away of William James Stillman on July 6, at Frimley Green, Surrey, England. To his immediate friends, aware of his four months' illness and not ignorant of his seeming convalescence, this news hardly gives surprise. The event follows his release from the harness of journalism—in the service of the London *Times*, whose pensioner he became on attaining the age of seventy—by three years, and when he had just entered upon his seventy-fourth year. We have ourselves, in reviewing his Autobiography—a work of exceptional interest and variety—indicated the principal phases of his checkered Odyssean career too recently to have need to rehearse them again. He was a typical American, doomed to live mostly abroad, and early distracted by two drawings—towards the practice of art and towards literary criticism of it—in which the latter preponderated only in turn to become subordinate to the pursuit of newspaper correspondence as a means of livelihood. In each field he achieved distinction, reaping also not a few animosities—among Turks, Greeks, and Italians especially, during the period of his consulates and of his connection with the *Times* in the Mediterranean. The discussion of art naturally furnished other opportunities for friction and collision of sentiment; and here his changed relations to Ruskin are most memorable. He had a gift, if not for controversy, for taking a hand in public debate, and this often quite regardless of the personal advantage of refraining. But such indifference was characteristic of his utter lack of mercenary considerations. His native temper was wholly sweet, and his manner charming long past the bloom of youth, when he was companionable to Emerson, Lowell, and Agassiz. As an author he was fairly prolific; all his books are agreeable reading, and some are first-hand historical documents. He made his mark, if a modest one, in archæology; he did something to advance the art of photography. In the evolution of the Eastern Question, he played a part analogous to that of his countryman Eugene Schuyler. He was one of the oldest living contributors to this journal, and his departure cannot be contemplated without sadness.

—The recent death of Herman Grimm suggests the question as to who is likely to take his place in German letters. His personality was so marked, and the range of his interests so wide, that it is hard to think of any one man upon whom his mantle might legitimately descend. Nor can he, in a strict sense, be said to have made a school, although the influence of his thought and his manner is to be seen in nearly all the younger literary historians, especially of North Germany. No one was more closely allied with him of late, and no one has more fully entered into his peculiar way of looking at things, than Prof. Reinhold Steig of Berlin. Professor Steig has just published a book, entitled 'Heinrich von Kleist's Berliner Kämpfe' (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann), which reveals the spirit of his master on nearly every page. Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Grimm's literary art is his power of transporting us into the surroundings in the midst of which a given author or artist did his work, of introducing us into the circles in which he moved, of making us live over his life once more. This is eminently true of Professor Steig's book. It brings before us not only the last two years—1810 and 1811—of Heinrich von Kleist's activity, but it gives us an epitome of the whole of Berlin society during that memorable time. The struggle between Romanticism and Rationalism, between the friends of the Hardenberg reform legislation and the adherents of the old Prussian caste rule, between the Jewish salons and money power and the anti-Semitic and ultra-German aristocracy, between the narrow, bourgeois character of Iffland's theatrical management and the new claims of a truly national drama; the underground agitation against the Napoleonic tyranny; the educational revival; the religious rebirth—all this is made to live before our eyes with the actuality of the moment, and to centre in an analysis of the *Berliner Abendblätter*, a daily evening paper which Heinrich von Kleist edited in those years in common with his friends, Adam Müller and Achim von Arnim. It is curious to note that Herman Grimm, even in an external sense, was the godfather of this admirable and most instructive book; for he lent to Professor Steig the only complete copy of the *Abendblätter* still in existence, the copy of the brothers Grimm, who had been subscribers to the sheet as it came out, a volume marked in 1861 by the hand of the older of the brothers as "liber nunc rarissimus."

—Another book which, though in a different sense, may be said to have been inspired by Herman Grimm's activity, particularly by his incessant efforts to bring into clear relief every phase and aspect of Goethe's life-work, is Dr. Hans Gräf's 'Goethe über seine Dichtungen' (Frankfort; Literarische Anstalt). This is an attempt to bring together as far as possible everything that Goethe ever said or wrote about his own poetical works. The whole work will be complete in five volumes, two dealing with the epic production (including, of course, the novels), two with the dramatic, and one with the lyric. At present there lies before us the first volume of the first part, giving Goethe's utterances on his epic productions alphabetically arranged, from the 'Achilleïs' to the 'Wahlverwandtschaften.' Under each head the arrangement is, of course, chronological, so that we are enabled to have a bird's-eye view of the development of Goethe's estimates of his own creations. The usefulness of such an undertaking as this is obvious at first sight; and we only need to add that Dr. Gräf has done his part of editing and annotating with great skill, accuracy, and discretion. The book is indispensable to Goethe scholars.

ANOTHER LIFE OF MEADE.

General Meade. By Isaac R. Pennypacker. D. Appleton & Co. 1901.

This is a eulogy of Gen. Meade from the pen of a fervent admirer. The account of Meade's career in the civil war, to which nearly all the book is devoted, gives evidence of extensive reading of the official records, but not of an impartial study of the subject. Still, the reader will have no difficulty in accepting Meade, in the light of the facts set out, as a high-minded gentleman, a pure patriot, an accomplished, careful, and skilled officer, and an unselfish, patient, resolute, and courageous leader. His place in history is assured among the great generals, although not among the greatest. The skill manifested by him on the defensive at Gettysburg was as eminent as that of Lee at Antietam, although the disparity in numbers was in favor of the Union army in both battles, while between the Rapidan and Bull Run in the autumn of 1863 he fairly outmanœuvred Lee. Whether he was Lee's equal in resource, tenacity, watchfulness, and intrepidity, such as the latter displayed in 1864 and 1865, cannot be asserted with the same confidence, for he was never placed in similar conditions. In the trying rôle of commanding an army in the presence and under the immediate orders of the Lieutenant-General, he merited and received the unqualified praise of the latter.

The book under review is in scope the same as Bache's Life of Meade, but it is much more minute in its account of battles and campaigns, and deals with the action of divisions, brigades, regiments and even companies. Bache's narrative is clearer and better from being written on broader lines. In the review of the latter work in the *Nation* of June 9, 1898, it was said that its criticisms of other commanders suggest a "disposition to punish Meade's enemies more than to make a sound criticism of a campaign." Mr. Pennypacker goes further in the same direction, and, in his zeal to enlarge Meade's fame, does not hesitate to disparage friends as well as enemies. Even President Lincoln does not escape. In common with most panegyrists, the author often fails to view his subject in true perspective, and he ignores the errors of Gen. Meade, few as they were, which require the palliation of a friendly pen.

Meade's first battle in the civil war was Gaines's Mill, where he commanded, with credit, a brigade in a force of 34,000 which, after valiant resistance, and the infliction on its opponents of the terrible loss of 8,750 killed and wounded, gave way under the attack of 57,000 Confederates. McClellan might have put 60,000 men in the fight, but failed to seize this chance of victory—from want of resolution, and not, as Mr. Pennypacker supposes, because he had previously determined to change his base to the James. This is shown by his chief of staff's dispatch to Stanton during the battle, which asserted that he would retreat to the James only if compelled to. Three days later, dur-

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ing the retreat, McCall's division, in which was Meade's brigade, was ordered by McClellan with others to take position at Glendale (Charles City Cross Roads) to cover the passage of the trains. In the absence of oversight by McClellan, it was posted, out of line, in advance of the other divisions on its right and left, and, therefore, received the first shock of the Confederate attack alone. It made a brave fight, which the author erroneously supposes alone prevented McClellan's line of retreat from being cut. Sedgwick's, Hooker's, and Kearney's and portions of Slocum's and Caldwell's divisions participated, and, with heavy loss, recovered ground lost by McCall's division. Our author is also inaccurate in the statement that McCall's division recovered Randol's battery which it had lost. It was taken from the field by the Confederates.

At South Mountain September 14, 1862, Meade played a conspicuous part. Mr. Pennypacker says that the capture by his command of the position on the enemy's left flank compelled the retreat of the Confederates from the field; but, both by the authority he cites and by Longstreet's report, it appears that the retreat was compelled by the seizure of positions on both flanks. The novel suggestion is made that if McClellan had not supposed, from Lee's "lost order" of September 9, that he and Longstreet would remain at Boonesboro' instead of pushing on to Hagerstown as they did, he might have pressed forward fast enough to cut through Lee's army. As the order actually stated that the army might go to Hagerstown, this belief was not warranted.

In the fierce battles of Second Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, in command of a brigade, division, or corps, Meade proved his quality so thoroughly that, when Hooker resigned, it was natural that the Administration, in the desire to break the succession of irresolute, feeble, or eccentric commanders such as had up to that time been inflicted on the Army of the Potomac, should select this tried and accomplished soldier for the command. It is more than probable that the influence of some of the other corps commanders was exerted to this end in the emergency which then confronted them. It is improbable that if the Administration had previously planned to remove Hooker, or determined to place Meade in command, it would have waited, in that critical time, for an opportunity to provoke Hooker's resignation. Nor is it probable that the retention of Maryland Heights, which is supposed to have led Hooker to resign, was regarded as very important in view of the ready acquiescence in Meade's immediate withdrawal of French's command from that position. Butterfield testified before the Committee on the Conduct of the War that it was Hooker's plan to throw French's command with Slocum's corps across the Potomac in rear of Lee's army. It is likely that it was this alarming plan which led the Administration to decline to allow Hooker to move French's command, and it is not impossible that the objections of some of the corps commanders to such hazardous strategy influenced the action of the Administration. The official records are remarkably deficient in correspondence on this subject.

In placing Meade in command, the Administration charged him with the duty of fending off Lee from Washington and the large cities to the north, compelling him to retire across the Potomac; and, incidentally, of giving battle at any good opportunity. After pushing northward to cover Washington and Baltimore, he advanced towards the Confederate line of communication with the South. This latter movement induced Lee to give up the attempt to cross the Susquehanna and turn about to give battle. Whether he thought a battle necessary to his army's safety, or whether he offered it because he was overconfident of victory, may be a question. It seems certain that he could have concentrated north of the South Mountain and retreated across the Potomac without serious molestation. Having determined to fight, he undoubtedly chose Gettysburg as the point of concentration because of the great highways which converged there from the points then occupied by his army. When Meade divined, from the enemy's movements, their disposition to concentrate, he ordered an advance of his army, in which the First and Eleventh Corps, under Reynolds, were sent to Gettysburg. In the order for this movement he stated that he desired to assume position for offensive or defensive, as occasion should require. Reynolds deprived him of the choice by throwing his corps into action in aid of Buford's cavalry, which, without this, might have safely retired. The time was inopportune for joining in battle, because most of the army was not within supporting distance, and the position in front of Gettysburg was a bad one, because it opened the rear of the Union line to the enemy marching in on the Carlisle and Hunterstown roads. It is not to be supposed that Reynolds was ignorant of these facts; and it is unfortunate for the fame of that brilliant soldier if there is no posthumous evidence to excuse him. Mr. Pennypacker exaggerates his fault by implying that, after he received the order to go to Gettysburg, he was told that it was given before there was positive knowledge of the enemy's concentration, and was instructed to fall back if he found the enemy in superior force; but Bache says that the circular which contained this information and instruction did not reach Reynolds.

When the Union troops were driven back through Gettysburg on July 1, Howard ordered a part of his corps into position on Cemetery Hill to cover the retreat, and Hancock, arriving soon afterwards, confirmed this and, conformably, ordered the remainder of the First and Eleventh Corps and the Twelfth Corps, then arriving, into the position which was held from that time until the close of the battle. Meade testified before the Committee on the Conduct of the War that the account of this position which Hancock brought to him before he reached the field, determined him to fight the battle there. Mr. Pennypacker implies that it was Meade, and not Hancock, who was entitled to the credit of selecting this position. In like manner, the author attributes to Meade the initiative in sending troops to defend Little Round Top, against Warren's testimony before the same Committee that, having been sent by Meade to that hill, he, seeing the enemy's advancing lines from the summit, sent word to Meade that it was necessary to occupy it strongly. Again, the author attributes to Meade the stopping of the fire of the Union batteries in order to reserve the ammunition for repelling Pickett's charge, in contravention of the report and testimony of Gen. Hunt, Chief of Artillery, that he gave this order of his own motion.

The position taken by Sickles on July 2 is condemned by Mr. Pennypacker, because it exposed both flanks, presented an angle to the enemy which could be enfiladed, and covered more ground than the corps could defend; but the enemy did not take much, if any, advantage of any of these things, and it is well contended in Sickles's behalf that the corps fought as long, and did as much execution where it stood, as it would have if it had been in line with the corps on the right. The serious disadvantage which resulted from the advanced position of Sickles's corps, as stated by Gen. Meade in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, was that in that position it could not be supported promptly. The author offers no excuse for the abandonment on July 2 of the intrenchments on Culp's Hill, which might have brought a catastrophe on the army. The recovery of these intrenchments required a hard battle.

Gen. Meade bore the undivided responsibility for the Army of the Potomac until March 26, 1864. No military authority of weight now contends that after Gettysburg an attack on Lee before he reached Virginia offered much chance of success. Meade's well-laid plan for striking him through Manassas Gap, while retreating up the Shenandoah, was defeated by the torpidity of French in command of the Third Corps; but during the next seven months Meade, while he established confidence in his ability to guard his army against defeat, and made some brilliant and successful attacks on portions of Lee's army, never joined battle with the whole of that army, nor manifested the resolution to accomplish its destruction by forcing the fighting whenever it could be caught outside of earthworks. One need not be a partisan of the Administration to think that this experience warranted it in doubting that Meade could be relied upon to force the relentless fighting which was necessary to destroy Lee's army.

In placing Meade's force at Gettysburg at 83,289, on the authority of 'Numbers and Losses in the Civil War,' the author does not observe that, according to that book, about 5,000 is to be added for three brigades of the Sixth Corps, which, although present, were not engaged. It appears, by a correction in a later edition of the same work, that Meade had 93,000 effectives, against Lee's 75,000.

The assertion that the strength of the opposing armies was nearly equal at any time during the nine months following Gettysburg is not tenable. The Union army always was the strongest by 15,000 to 36,000 men. After Lee reached the Rapidan, Meade did not move against him until October, when, discovering the movement of Lee's army northward, he manœuvred to place the Army of the Potomac in position to attack Lee in the attempt to cross the Rappahannock. It resulted that the two armies assumed substantially the same positions held by Lee's and Pope's armies just before the second Bull Run; and then, in 1863 as in 1862, Lee, crossing the Rappahannock, turned the right flank of the Union army, and caused its retreat, and a favorable opportunity for battle was lost in each campaign through the fault of one of the corps commanders. In 1862 it was Sigel who, under orders to sweep the country from Gainesville to

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Manassas Junction, started too late to intercept Jackson, as he retreated back around the flank of the Union army. In 1863 it was Sykes who, by marching away from Bristow Station, in too literal obedience to orders, while the Second Corps was engaged there, threw away a favorable chance for a battle on favorable terms, for the Second Corps numbered 8,000 (not 3,000, as the author intimates), and the Fifth Corps 12,000, while only Anderson's and Heth's divisions of about 11,000 were engaged on the Confederate side (and not 30,000 men, as the author says). But Meade did not wish to join battle south of Bull Run, while Pope planned to fight any of the enemy encountered in the march to the rear. Mr. Pennypacker praises Meade's generalship in contrast with Pope's in these manœuvres, alleging that while Meade successfully evaded the force which had marched around his flank, Pope was involved in the disaster of Second Bull Run by Jackson's flank march. This is an error. Pope, after beating up Ewell's division in his rear, and driving it back, faced his army about and moved upon Jackson, who thereupon, as stated above, retraced his steps around the northern flank of the Union army with all celerity. The defeat in the battle which followed was not due, and had no relation, to Jackson's flank march, but resulted from Pope's facing again to the original front after Jackson had passed back towards Lee, and advancing in battle against Lee and Jackson reunited. Meade's brilliant dislodgement of Lee from his position on the Rappahannock November 7 was followed by inaction until the movement to Mine Run November 26, where the intended surprise was frustrated by the error of a corps commander, and Meade was diverted from an attack on the enemy's intrenched lines by Warren's plan for a flank attack, which later he decided to be impracticable.

Mr. Pennypacker blames President Lincoln for requiring Meade constantly to interpose his army between the enemy and Washington, and for refusing on this account to agree to his plan for taking a step nearer to Richmond by changing his base to Fredericksburg, and he implies that, by dissenting from plans "to fight the enemy slowly back into his entrenchments at Richmond, and then to capture him," he forbade Meade to do what was done under Grant in the Wilderness campaign. This is a misconception. The march into the Wilderness, May 4, 1864, was not for the purpose of fighting the enemy back to Richmond, but of interposing between them and Richmond, in order to force them to battle in which they might be destroyed before they could take shelter behind the works at Richmond. Lee moved down to attack the Union army in the Wilderness, and Meade, turning on him, promptly attacked him before Longstreet's corps had arrived within supporting distance. Probably, on May 5, a decisive defeat of the enemy was prevented by the inexcusable delay of four or five hours in the attack by the Fifth Corps, and the exposure of its flank to the counter-attack by the enemy; and on May 6, by the failure of Gibbon to attack with the rest of the Second Corps, as intended by Hancock, and the tardy participation of Burnside's command. The failure of the Confederates' counter-attack to dislodge the Union army on May 6 left them no disposition for another, and from that day to the end of the war Lee never ventured his whole army out of its works for attack, as he so often had done before, nor did the Army of the Potomac ever again retreat. From that day the initiative was constantly with Grant. Gettysburg is dramatically entitled the turning-point of the war, but the title fits the Wilderness more closely.

Mr. Pennypacker repeats the statement that, in ordering the Army of the Potomac across the James in June, Grant left Meade in ignorance of the purpose to have any part of that army take part in the attack on Petersburg. The review of Bache's Life of Meade above cited states facts which controvert this view, and also shows that the halt of Hancock's corps at the river, which prevented its arrival in time to attack June 15, was due to Meade's erroneous report that the corps was without rations. Mr. Pennypacker omits to notice this, and erroneously states that Hancock reported that he had started for Petersburg without rations. His review of the siege of Petersburg gives no explanation of the failure to dispatch reinforcements to Hancock at Ream's Station, August 25, in time to avert the disaster of that day.

The field of Boydton Plank Road was abandoned after the battle of October 27, 1864, according to Meade's report, because of the superior position of the enemy. His latest biographer, however, alleges that it was abandoned because the troops were short of ammunition, and that the failure of the movement at this time was due to ignorance of the country which would not have existed if Sheridan's cavalry command had not been away. In view of the presence of Gregg's cavalry, this statement seems to be somewhat strained. The author's hostile view of Grant and Sheridan apparently leads him to question whether, if the cavalry corps had been present on this field, the collapse of the Confederate army might not have been brought about as well then as in the following April; to characterize Sheridan's battle on March 31 as a humiliating defeat which caused everything on the Union side to be deferred to extricate him; and to assert that the battle of Five Forks did not essentially contribute to the capture of Petersburg. These statements hardly deserve serious refutation, but the facts are as follows: Sheridan's movement beyond the left flank of the enemy on March 29 had the effect, desired by Grant, of drawing them out of their works, and 7,000 cavalry and 6,600 infantry advanced against Sheridan's 9,000 cavalry, which resisted obstinately all day, retiring from Five Forks to Dinwiddie Court-House, a distance of about four miles. At the close of the day Sheridan sent word to Grant that he would hold on as long as he could. He asked for no aid, and needed none, to extricate him. The Fifth Corps was sent to seize the opportunity to break up the force which was in Sheridan's front, but not to relieve him. On the next day came the victory of Five Forks, in consequence of which, on the same night, Lee sent four brigades from his intrenched lines to the South Side Railroad to stop the Union approach from Five Forks. These brigades, with those at Five Forks, numbered about 12,000, and their departure left only 20,000 troops to hold fifteen miles of trenches from Clairborne Road to the Appomattox. The depletion of the force in the trenches was the main object of Sheridan's movement on the enemy's flank, and it contributed greatly, if, indeed, it was not essential, to the success of the assault of the next day on those works.

The climax of our author's attacks on Grant and Sheridan is the accusation that, after opening negotiations with Lee for the surrender of his army, Grant, leaving orders for Meade to attack the retreating enemy when overtaken, deliberately put himself out of reach of Meade and of dispatches from Lee, by riding around to Sheridan in front of the Confederate army in order to give him the credit of receiving the surrender; and that, by doing this, Grant invited the risk of a needless battle after Lee was ready to surrender. With this is contrasted the magnanimous decision of Meade to suspend hostilities until Lee's next letter should reach Grant. Several established facts are inconsistent with the immeasurable indifference to human life here attributed to Grant. A single one of them, if known to Mr. Pennypacker, might have shown him his error, which is that Ord, and not Sheridan, was the senior officer in the force which Grant joined in front of the enemy.

THE BARONESS DE BODE.

The Baroness de Bode. 1775-1803. By William S. Childe-Pemberton. With portraits. Longmans, Green & Co. 1900.

The family name De Bode was well known in England during the years 1820-1850 from its association with a *cause célèbre*. At the Peace of 1814 it was agreed that France should pay a sum of seven millions sterling in lieu of damages sustained by British subjects resident in that country whose property had been confiscated during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The money was to be divided among the sufferers. Under this article of the treaty Baron Clement de Bode claimed the large sum of £541,162. The grounds of his application involved several important legal points and several which are historically interesting. His parentage was unusual, and his career had been equally extraordinary. He was the son of a German father and an English mother, a fact sufficiently commonplace in itself. But his father, though German, had been an officer in the French service prior to 1786, and when the Revolution broke out was seigneur of a singular Alsatian fief called Sulz or Soultz. The feudal superior of Soultz was a German prince and archbishop, the Elector of Cologne, but homage for the holding was rendered not only to him but to the King of France.

A further complication is introduced into De Bode's suit against the British Treasury by the fact that the plaintiff did not come, at the time, from England, France, or Germany, but from Russia. He had lived in Russia ever since his boyhood, he was (or had been) colonel of a Russian cavalry regiment, and the Czar Alexander gave him funds for the prosecution of his case. The matter came before the full Court of Queen's Bench, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. The Earl of Derby and three Lord Chancellors, Brougham, Lyndhurst, and Truro, supported Baron de Bode; yet he never got the money, nor did his heir, who kept the process alive till 1861. Sir Theodore Martin says, in his 'Life of Lord

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Lyndhurst': "The money out of which the Baron might have been paid part of his claim at least had been spent, and the all-powerful voice of a recalcitrant Treasury drowned every other consideration." Brougham wrote: "In all my experience at the bar, in Parliament, or in the country, such gross and impudent injustice I never witnessed."

The present volume is devoted to a very vigorous woman, Mary Kynnersley, the mother of Baron Clement de Bode, and, one must think, the natural source of his pertinacity. Her life traversed nearly the whole revolutionary period, for she died at Moscow shortly before Napoleon entered it. She had some remarkable experiences, and her whole active career illustrates striking aspects of court society as it was when the old régime closed. Her early years were unmarked by any strange events. She was the fourth daughter of a Staffordshire squire, and had no early advantages which seemed likely to bring her into contact with the crowned heads of Europe. Her fate was determined by a trip to Dunkirk with Lady Ferrers (a sister-in-law of the Earl who was hanged at Tyburn for murdering his steward). There she met Charles Auguste de Bode, whose grandfather had been a Privy Councillor to the Emperor Charles VI., and who was himself a poor but honest Baron of the Holy Roman Empire. He held a commission in a French regiment, the Royal Deux-Ponts, and eventually became a colonel. He was also well connected with families in Austrian Flanders. Indeed, his relatives would not welcome the bride until research at the Heralds' College in London had proved that the Kynnersley family "was one of the most ancient in England, and nobly allied during eight hundred years." After this discovery they could not be cordial enough.

The determining facts in the Baroness de Bode's life were the comparative poverty of her husband and the large size of her family. Year after year she had a son or a daughter until the total amounted to eleven, and almost all of them survived their infant ailments. Her chief care was to educate these children and to place them in the world, a task to which she brought a very enterprising talent. Shortly after her marriage she went with her husband to Saarbrück, and, from holding the post of lady-in-waiting to the Princess, she formed a wide acquaintance with notable persons. She began making provision for her poor children at their birth by getting suitable godparents, and thus securing a certain interest for them in the future. Clement, the eldest boy, was, through the good offices of Maria Theresa, to be a *Chevalier de Malte;* William, the second, should enter the church and be made a *chanoine;* the Queen of Prussia was godmother to Frederica, etc. At length, by dint of skilful management, presumably on his wife's part, the Baron de Bode secured Soultz, a valuable fief in Alsace which had belonged to the Cardinal de Rohan. This good luck happened in 1788, and for a twelvemonth the mother felt secure. Then came the Revolution!

We must keep our notice of Mme. de Bode within bounds, and so we shall say little about an important part of the book—the letters which describe feudalism at Soultz. The Baron had his vassals, his ingenious *banalités,* and his settlement of Jews who paid tribute for their right of residence. "'Tis impossible to tell you all the rights we have. We hardly know them ourselves yet." In short, the Baron was ruler as by right divine, and with the full authority which Sancho possessed over his subjects, when the Bastille was stormed and the peasants began to grow restless. A great deal of most animated and valuable detail is given concerning the advance of the Revolution from 1789 till 1794, when blank ruin overtook the Baron de Bode and his family. The facts are all the more authentic because the Baroness has no general grasp of politics and is not writing with a view to literary effect. Her letters to her sisters are long and crowded with circumstances. They relate her hopes and despair, her hairbreadth escapes, and those of her husband, the varying chances which she has of reinstatement, and her reliance upon the Allies. Finally, in 1794, she lost everything which could not be removed, and most of her personal property besides. She found herself with a good, but not very strenuous, husband and eight children to provide for.

Here the extraordinary and adventurous part of her life begins. She had courage and a certain kind of faith. "The Israelites became richer after all their hardships than they were before." "God restored to Job more than he ever had, and it pleased Him to render him richer in his latter days than he was at first." With maternal anxiety and religious confidence she looked about for the rope of safety which should rescue her and hers from the flood. Exiled in western Germany, she learned from a newspaper that Catharine II. had offered the Prince de Condé and his officers a tract in southern Russia. He had not accepted the invitation, but why, if such favors were being extended to *émigrés,* should not the Baron de Bode be included? He had lost one fief in Alsace, but why should he not receive another in the Crimea?

On fire with this idea, the Baroness left her husband and the seven youngest children at Altenberg. Taking Clement, the future claimant, she set out "in a little nice, blue phaeton, and two little white horses, drove by our faithful Jacob," and made a round of German courts to furnish herself with letters of introduction to the Empress. The Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, the Landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Duchess of Zweibrücken, the court of Baden, and the Countess of Leyen, all gave her aid. "Some have helped me with money, others with letters of recommendation; all with good wishes for my success, and admiration for my courage and resolution to put such a project into execution." She drove across Germany from Carlsruhe to Berlin, got money, keepsakes, and letters from the Queen of Prussia, and then away to Stockholm. At Stralsund she sold her horses and took boat for Usted, where Count Runth, Governor of Pomerania, was her friend. From Usted she posted several hundred miles to the Swedish capital.

The end of the matter is, that she captured the fief in southern Russia for which she asked. No sooner had she arrived in St. Petersburg than Sir Charles Whitworth, the English Ambassador, put his horses and carriage at her disposal. The Empress found her with ready money, "and gave orders for us to be lodged and boarded at her expense, so long as we stay here." Count Zuboff, the favorite, got her the sum needed to bring her husband and children (545 guineas), and sent her off into the Government of Ekaterinoslav, there to select a fief which should please her. By November 24, 1795, the whole transaction was completed, and she was put in possession of an excellent estate. "The cattle that are upon it are very fine; the rivers, lakes, and pools that belong to us charming, and remarkably stocked with fish. The meadows give nearly 7,000 wagon-loads of hay at 2,000 pounds weight each; the ground uncommonly good." Mme. de Bode had some reverses at the death of Catharine, when Paul developed strong anti-English feelings; but after his assassination she came back to favor. Under Alexander her children prospered, and those who remained in Russia have intermarried with the greatest families. The Baroness was not a beauty. She accomplished her purposes by enterprise and grace. Her history shows how the nobles and princes of the old régime held together and helped each other, wherever possible, amid the misfortunes which resulted from the Revolution.

This book is a collection of letters, now belonging to Lord Norton, who is descended from one of the Kynnersley sisters. Mr. Childe-Pemberton supplies the connecting links with a clear and suitable narrative of his own. The papers have been used with much tact, and the editor does not state his case too strongly when he says, in the first sentence of the preface: "If any apology be needed for adding one more to the list of memoirs bearing on the French Revolution, I trust it may be fairly claimed that this record breaks fresh ground."

Talk on Civics. By Henry Holt. The Macmillan Co. 1901.

The aim of this book is certainly commendable, and the author is well qualified for the work that he has undertaken. He is thoroughly informed, he is a clear thinker, and he writes in a plain and forcible style. It is an ambitious design—to declare the whole duty of the citizen—but it is carried out with as much success as could reasonably be anticipated; perhaps with more success than any similar attempt has attained. Whatever shortcomings may be observed are to be attributed more to the vast scope of the undertaking, and to the controversial nature of many of the subjects treated, than to any deficiency in the author's equipment. He has a well-defined body of political principles, derived from his own reflection on the doctrines of the soundest of teachers, and he applies them consistently and conscientiously. He deserves to be honored as a patriot; for no better service can be rendered to the country than to teach its citizens how its institutions have been developed. No country, Mr. Holt observes, has been cursed so much as ours by political quackery—especially the quackery which proposes immediate cures by legislation for the abiding ills resulting from human weakness and ignorance. All our beneficent institutions have been evolved through the long and painful struggles which have produced character and morality, yet there is scarcely one, from a stable currency down to the very right of accumulating property, that has lately escaped a strong attempt to overthrow it, and to substitute some invention bearing a new name, but really a form of some protean error as old as history. Against these perennial fallacies Mr. Holt girds himself like a man, and exposes them right valiantly.

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Whether Mr. Holt has presented his arguments in a manner that will be popular is open to question. He has written his book in the form of a catechism, and some catechisms—notably 'Coin's School'—have been widely read. But they are not intrinsically alluring, and, in spite of Mr. Holt's familiar and spirited style, we fear that he will appeal chiefly to the just men that need no repentance. For, to apply the principles of evolution, only those who are trained to think and reason can think and reason on politics. It is inevitable that a catechism on so great a subject as this should be dogmatic. Mr. Holt gives his reasons as fully as he can, but they are necessarily condensed, and his conclusions often imply much more than is contained in his premises. Those who do not accept them will point out many cases where arguments on which they rely have been disregarded.

Mr. Holt professes to use the Socratic method only in a modified form; but his method differs materially from that of Plato. That accomplished cross-examiner was in the habit of leading his pupils on until they confuted themselves and thus discovered their errors. Mr. Holt's pupil is omniscient; the teacher has only to broach a subject in order to let on a gush of knowledge. This artifice is not artistic, because it lacks verisimilitude; learners are not supposed to be able to overwhelm their teachers with the wealth of their information. But Mr. Holt defends his method with so much modesty as to make us quite willing to concede that it has certain advantages. In fact, we have found his book much more readable than its form led us to expect.

Possibly there would have been a gain in omitting the summary of the law of real and personal property, contracts, etc., and giving more space to the defence of doctrines which are widely controverted. Nevertheless, Mr. Holt is not to be regarded as attempting to make every man his own lawyer, and his presentation of the law is lucid and interesting. We can heartily recommend his book to young and old as containing a social philosophy of the best kind; animated with the spirit of benevolence as well as justice, free from cant and from fallacy, and practical because based on experience. Even those who do not accept all its conclusions will be benefited by observing how they are reached. To put such a book in the hands of an intelligent boy will do much to make him a good citizen. We may add that, in spite of its polemics, the tone of the book is highly optimistic.

Domestic Service. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. Second edition. New York: The Macmillan Co.

We return to Miss Salmon's excellent book on 'Domestic Service' for the sake of the supplementary chapter on the phase the difficulties of this question assume in the various countries of Europe. It is a great mistake to suppose that the conditions of the servant problem are more perplexing in America than elsewhere, while it is equally fallacious to believe that any country in Europe, not to say the world, is exempt from its difficulties. The difference is only in degree, and varies with the usages and manner of living in every land.

Chapter xvii., Domestic Service in Europe, contains the concentrated information collected by our authoress from competent authorities and personal inquiry in England, France, Germany, and Italy during the last ten years. The social and political conditions which affect the question are traced on one hand to long-accepted traditions and customs; on the other, to the development of the democratic idea since the French Revolution, to industrial movements and social changes affecting the relations of classes to each other in every country of Europe. These influences manifest themselves differently according to political tendencies and to the characteristics of each people. The fundamental differences in domestic architecture are in themselves potential in altering the conditions of service—the English house complete in itself; the French system of large houses let out in flats having one staircase uniting the different floors, and all the servants of each flat sleeping beneath the eaves; the German apartment-house in close proximity to garden cafés, affording, with the pastry cook, immense facilities for meals; the Italian palace in which everything is sacrificed to the grandeur of the reception-rooms, and the servants have to sleep in corners and mezzanines low and stuffy. Then the habits of each country tell immensely on the service required. In Italy, for instance, where no breakfast is required, and hospitality to visitors never takes the form of meals, life is generally simple and domestic service comparatively easy, while all over Europe neither baking nor washing is habitually included in the work of the house as they are in America. But, to counterbalance these requirements, we must note the uniform heating of houses and the employment of mechanical appliances to facilitate labor in America.

There is still in every country a survival of the old relationship of master and servant; these instances are to be found generally far away in the country, in ancestral domains where new ideas have not as yet penetrated. It is clear, after examining all the different sides of the question in Europe, that in essentials the same difficulties exist as in America. Up to the present moment the different methods adopted to secure efficient service in Europe are quite inadequate. The German method of Government supervision by means of service-books seems to have signally failed, for the law forbids an employer to say anything in his written report in the service-book which would prevent the employee from finding employment, and even a suspicion of honesty must be concealed unless the employer can lodge a legal complaint and show positive proof of dishonesty.

An advantage our authoress sees in domestic service in Europe is the employment of men. In Italy, France, and Germany a great number of natives adopt household service as a means of subsistence among their own people. It would seem by Booth's report on this subject that in England there are now fewer men willing to serve, the influx of Swiss and Italian waiters having thrown discredit on the profession. The want of adaptability of the Englishman, and his inability to lay his hand to any work required outside what he has been engaged for, make him fit only for establishments of extremely wealthy people who keep a great number, one for each specialty, while the Swiss or Italian or German is ready for any work which may occur, has more obliging manners, and can generally speak several languages; besides which, foreign men servants do not demand such high wages as Englishmen.

Although the rate of wages is lower in England than in America, Miss Salmon errs in supposing any ordinary English housemaid would serve for $3 a month, and that an excellent cook could be obtained for $8. Excellent cooks are nearly obsolete; the survivals know their value, and one of moderate pretensions would demand from £30 to £40 sterling per year. Housemaids, even those in their teens without experience, require from £14 to £20 yearly in England, supplemented by Christmas presents and tips from visitors. The cook receives fees from the tradesmen and purveyors, but these have been greatly reduced of late years by the custom of provisioning from coöperative stores. On the Continent, wages are far lower than in England, but the cook, as a matter of course, adds her percentage to every item of daily expenditure, which the daily marketing gives her ample opportunity of doing, while the man-servant takes his on candles, lamp oil, coal and wood, and fruit, sweets, and cakes for dessert.

In Europe the social disadvantages of domestic service are much the same as in America, so that the status of servant has become rather a refuge for the inept. Men and women of moderate intelligence prefer even harder work in factories, in shops, in telegraph offices, to the total loss of liberty involved in accepting domestic service. The conditions of such service in Europe are far harder than in America. The chasm between the English servant and his master, constantly emphasized by the extreme servility of the former, is always disagreeably noticeable to Americans. In France and Italy the relations between the employer and employed are more democratic and human. In Italy, servants are treated with little consideration as to their personal comfort, while they are supposed to dedicate all their time to their work. Even in Germany, where much is done to mitigate the difficulties of the position, and so many benefactions have been organized for the benefit of domestic employees, the lot of a servant is a hard one. Miss Salmon's concluding paragraph deserves attention:

"In one important respect the condition of domestic service in Europe is immeasurably behind that in America. Even more than here, domestic service and domestic servants are the targets at which are aimed the satire and the ridicule of literature and the press, and this is not counterbalanced by earnest study of the subject, as is the case with us. The question is everywhere discussed in America, not because the difficulties here are greater than they are elsewhere, but because it is coming to be recognized as a part of the great labor problem of the day. If the future holds for us a solution of the problem, it is because we believe it is worthy of historical study and of scientific investigation; and in giving it this recognition, we have put it on a higher plane than the one it as yet occupies in Europe."

Remembrances of Emerson. By John Albee, author of 'Prose Idyls,' etc., etc. New York: Robert G. Cooke. 1901.

If the word "appreciation" had not of late been over-used in a new meaning, it might plead for employment in a proper description of Mr. Albee's little book. There are those who have a pleasant recollection of the author in that period of youth which

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he describes so happily, when his mates and younger friends regarded him as a quite typical Emersonian, reading "little Emersonian essays" instead of sermons in the New England Unitarian churches after his graduation from the Harvard Divinity School, and thereby shortening the period of his candidacy without effecting a settlement. 'It was, perhaps, because of a too exclusive devotion to Emerson that he was unable to attend the regular lectures of the Divinity School, so that one of the professors, being asked to sign his diploma, expressed his willingness to further Mr. Albee's ends and aspirations, but added that he lacked the basis of any personal acquaintance with him whatsoever.

None of the philosophers and moralists who have arisen within the last fifty years have swerved Mr. Albee from his early admiration. His book is all the more valuable because it has been written in full view of the long line of those who have endeavored to give to life and the world a more satisfactory interpretation than was embodied in Emerson's lofty idealism. Nor can it be regarded as a fault that Mr. Albee's style and thought reflect those of his master. The first sentences are evidence of this: "It is natural to wish for personal communication with great men. We are drawn to them as to a finer climate." We have here the explanation of his good success when meeting Emerson, compared with Mr. Howells's misfortune, frankly reported in the latter's 'Reminiscences.' Emerson opened like a flower to the ingenuous youth coming to him for guidance, and shut up like an oyster to the merely curious. Mr. Albee's account of his "Day with Emerson" and what naturally followed is very pleasing, with its side-glance at Thoreau parching corn for Emerson's children and watching its explosive energy with something similar of his own. He carried away a great deal from his first interview, and was so wise as to write down much of it and keep it until now. But his second chapter, "Emerson's Influence on the Young Men of his Time," is more important, and has quite as much of what Emerson called "the subjective twinkle." There are some good anecdotes—a few that we have heard before, but so good that they are welcome guests. Higginson or Howells has told us of the man who missed hearing Emerson's Phi Beta address, and said "it was better to miss Emerson than to hear any one else." Mr. Albee tells of the religious enthusiast who said that if some one had not written the New Testament, he should. This is as good as anything in Emerson's 'Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England.' But Mr. Albee uses the story to illustrate the attitude of young men towards Emerson, like Emerson's towards Montaigne, of whom he said that when he first read him he felt as if he had written the book. How Emerson's quotations were requoted and bred the habit of quotation is a point well made.

"Emerson as an Essayist," Mr. Albee's third chapter, is confined for the most part to the two volumes of Essays published in 1841 and 1844. It is a careful and discriminating study, and by no means unmixed praise. It is lamented that Emerson was always fragmentary and never built his polished stones into a noble house. Mr. Albee seems to depreciate too much when he says that the perfection of Emerson's style did not go beyond the sentence. Certainly there are passages, and not a few, that are as perfect as his most perfect sentences. It would appear that Mr. Albee has sometimes written with Emerson's indifference to the agreement of his utterances within the limits of a single essay. In one place he says that he can "still faintly detect" in the Essays "the air of the lecture-room." In another place he blames those who make this criticism, and says that it certainly does not correspond to "any resemblances [in the Essays] to writing which we know was prepared for public delivery." Mr. Emerson's son Edward, who contributes several notes, states that his father was extremely fond of old-fashioned eloquence and of imitating its spoken form. But we know that his three great speeches were Lincoln's at Gettysburg, John Brown's when sentenced, and one of Kossuth's; and only the last could have had the fine last-century ring. Mr. E. W. Emerson has also a mistaken date, 1856, for his father's "entering the lists with the black giant knight Webster." Webster died in 1852. In 1854 Emerson reviewed his course in an elaborate anti-slavery address, but it was in 1851 that he attacked the living man at Cambridge (where he was hissed down) and elsewhere, saying, "Every drop of blood in his veins has eyes that look down."

Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland. By Robert E. Matheson, Registrar General. Dublin: Thom & Co. 94 pp.

This is a Government pamphlet "for the guidance of Registration officers and the public in searching the indexes of births, deaths, and marriages." It has a value and importance beyond its modest appearance, and will be of interest to all attached to genealogical pursuits, especially in relation to Ireland. The orthographic changes in prefixes and affixes are discussed and illustrated, and the more important ones arising from the translation of Irish into English names, and vice versa. There are then mutations in letters, abbreviations, spelling according to pronunciation, local and family variations in spelling and form, added to changes owing to illiteracy. The most interesting passages are those in which are treated the simple translations into English meaning of Irish names. How little aware are thousands of Irishmen in the case of the names Bird, Black, Fox, Green, Hunt, Little, Long, Waters, and White, that they are in truth the descendants of Gaelic Heanys, Duffs, Shanahans, Huneens, Fehoneys, Beggs, Fadhas, Toorishes. Confusion becomes worse confounded when we find children born in wedlock called by the mother's surname, and members of the same family spelling their names differently. Registrars report extraordinary tergiversations. "In the same family the father was known as Cue, the son signs himself Hue, and two deceased children used to sign themselves MacCue." Few would recognize "Armstrongs" as being originally "Laverys," yet the change is simple enough. "Lavery" is a corruption of *lav*, a hand. The Lavery family is a large one in some districts. Some are distinguished as "*Trin*-Laverys"—"*Strong*-Laverys." The transition to Armstrong is easy.

Two-thirds of the booklet is devoted to a list of 2,091 of the principal surnames in use in Ireland, and over 6,000 of their principal synonyms. Under "Smith" we not only find "Smeeth," "Smyth," and "Smythe," but various forms of "Gawa," the Irish for a smith—"Goan," "Going," "Gow," "Gowan," "Magough," "McCona," "McGivney," "McGowan," "O'Gowan." Truly the path of the explorer in Irish genealogies can be no easy one. A perusal of these pages led us to refer to one of the letter files in most approved use in stores and offices in this country for some suggestion as to the comparative place the pure Irish "O's" have attained in the commercial life of America. We found that out of 150 alphabetical openings but one is allotted to "O," while there are three to German "Sch's." But how many who are not now "O's" or "Macs" are likely to be so in blood!

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, F. U. The Kidnapped Millionaires. Boston: Lothrop Pub. Co.
Brooks, Asa P. Aldea. F. Tennyson Neely Co.
Cheney, Warren. The Flight of Helen, and Other Poems. San Francisco: Elder & Shepard.
Delannoy, Burford. "£19,000." R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.25.
Field, Eugene. A Little Book of "Tribune" Verse. Denver: Tandy, Wheeler & Co. $1.50.
Gunton, George, and Robbins, Hayes. Outlines of Political Science. D. Appleton & Co.
Hallam, J. C. The Story of a European Tour. Sioux City: Perkins Bros. Co.
Joyce, John A. Edgar Allan Poe. F. Tennyson Neely Co.
Lane, Elinor M. Mills of God. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.
Mighels, P. V. The Chrystal Sceptre. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.50.
Pickard, Florie W. The Ides of March. F. Tennyson Neely Co. $1.25.
Royal Academy Pictures, 1901. Cassell & Co. $3.00.
Shiel, M. P. The Lord of the Sea. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
When a Witch is Young. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.50.
Wilcox, Ella Wheeler. Every-Day Thoughts. W. B. Conkey Co.
Zelcoe, Louis B. Abandoned. F. Tennyson Neely Co.

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